	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.	SUN.	NOTES
					1			T/SoR/49/1/5/8
JAN.								NDC.
					29/ Aw #58 deadline		31.	Bloody Sunday demo
FEB.	1.							
	15/ I.B.+NDC deadlines						28	I.B.
MARCH	1/ S.B. deadline					6/ NDC		NDC. finish editing/typing HSG → pagemaking
			31					I.B.
APRIL	12/ IB+NDC deadline							
					30	1/ NDC		NDC. Mayday HSG available.
MAY								May 29-31 Glasgow & Summerschool.
						29/ GLAS	30/ GOW	
	31/ GLASGOW							NAT. CONF AFA 'Unity' carnival — Newcastle
						12/ UNITY carnival.		I.B.
JUNE			30	1				

MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.	SUN.	NOTES
			1				NDC.
					31	1	
							I.B.
	31	1					
							NDC.
			30	1			
							I.B.
						31	
1							NDC Remembrance Sunday
							NAT. CONF.
	30	1					
							I.B.
				31	1		

JULY.
AUGUST
SEPT.
OCT.
NOV.
DEC.

T/SOR/49/1/5/8

emergency conference

agenda

LEEDS 31 JANUARY 1993

CONFERENCE PROCEDURE

1 This conference regrets that 3(?) members have resigned from the CWF, and deplores the way that the walkout from the last Leeds conference was organised. We encourage political and organisational differences within a wider framework of basic agreement. But we believe that by resigning from membership, the 3 comrades have removed their right to 'participate in the decision- and policy-making processes of the Federation at all levels'. We accept them as observers at conference but they should not be allowed speaking rights unless they wish to argue their case for rejoining the CWF.
(Tim, London CW)

2 This conference agrees:
a) that Tim Scargill should be banned from the CWF for 6 months
b) that after a period of 6 months, Tim Scargill should only be readmitted if he agrees to abide by the politics and decisions of the CWF, and if he has repaid all money owed to the CWF.
(Jim, Dartmoor CW)

NOTE: We have put these two proposals at the top of the agenda as we need to reach decisions on this issue before moving on to other matters. This emergency conference is taking place because of the events at the last national conference, so it seems fair to get this sorted first and put that piece of history behind us. The bit about money in Jim's proposal may be out of date by now.

STRUCTURE

3 This conference agrees that the CWF should scrap the constitution, all national officers, the National Delegate Committee, dayschools, *Heavy Stuff*, the Supporters Bulletin and *Class War* in its present form.

This will leave a twice yearly national conference, an Internal Bulletin (produced by groups in rotation), local autonomy and activity, ad hoc national co-ordination when the need arises, and *Class War* produced when the need arises. Local groups to produce local broadsheets and to stand candidates in local elections. Membership to be a flat rate of £5 per year, payable to the local group; membership is only open to those active on the local level.
(Ian and Lee, Bristol South CW)

NOTE: This proposal raises fundamental issues about the CWF so we have allowed at least an hour for discussion. Ian and Lee's proposals for national campaigns have been separated and placed later on (25,26,27). If the above proposal is passed then obviously we can forget proposals 4-14, 16-18, 21-25

4 This conference agrees to establish
a) a propaganda group, consisting of *Class War*, *Heavy Stuff* and merchandise groups
b) a strategy group.
(Tim, London CW)

NATIONAL OFFICERS

5 This conference agrees to redefine all national posts, along with job descriptions. These will then be written up and ratified at the next national conference in May/June 1993
(Dave, Birmingham CW)
NOTE: Current job descriptions attached.

6 National Co-ordination Secretary. This matter was left unresolved at the November 1992 conference. We need a) to decide whether we need this post and b) if so, to elect someone to do it.

7 National Membership Secretary. Ivan (Birmingham CW) has done this job up till now as promised. We need to elect a new one.

8 This conference agrees that the International Secretary should put together a small team to monitor foreign publications/events, communicate with comrades overseas, submit reports to the IB (and Internal Discussion Bulletin if agreed), build up international contacts, and that all CWF members should feed into this group.
(London CW)

9 This conference agrees to recreate the post of National Supporters Secretary, to perform all the jobs outlined in the current job description.
(Brian, Leeds CW)

10 This conference agrees to recreate the post of National Education Co-ordinator who will:
a) collate, produce and distribute an internal discussion bulletin
b) co-ordinate the production of a local group development handbook
c) produce an annual 'business management' report on the CWF.
(Pete, Plymouth CW)
This conference agrees that Pete Parry (Plymouth CW) should hold the above post.
(Darren, Plymouth CW)

11 This conference agrees that all national events (such as anti-election rally, Communities of Resistance rally, anti-monarchy march etc) must be agreed in advance by national conference (unless there is a need to respond quickly due to events outside of our control), and that we must agree why we are doing it, how we'll do it and what we hope to achieve.
Local and regional events should be arranged at local or regional level. The initiative to produce one-off shorter versions of *Class War* (eg for miners' demo) can be taken by one or more local groups who also retain responsibility for its cost.
(London CW)

12 This conference agrees that each IB should have a compulsory report from all national officers, as well as the paper group, the *Heavy Stuff* group and the merchandise group. These reports should include 6 monthly accounts of income, sales and expenditure.
(Dave, Birmingham CW; London CW)

13 This conference agrees that all CWF accounts must have at least 2 signatories.
(Ted, Bristol CW)

MEMBERSHIP

14 This conference agrees that to become a member of a local group you must also become a member of the CWF (the only alternative is to be a supporter of a local group). The local group is responsible for granting membership, but this can be challenged by other CWF members at national conference. Members who are expelled, or resign in a manner detrimental to the CWF, can only be readmitted at or by national conference.
If no local group exists or if it's not possible to attend the local group, anyone applying for membership of the CWF should be vetted by the nearest local group or, if not applicable, by the region.
Where a local group is formed and applies for membership of the CWF, then it is up to the nearest local group (or, if not applicable, the nearest region) to meet and discuss with them prior to application being accepted. National Secretary and National Membership Secretary are to maintain lists of all local groups.
(Tim, London CW)

15 This conference agrees that all potential new members of the CWF must submit a statement of intent to their local group, outlining their commitment etc. From then they become probationary members for 6 months, at which point the local group can decide whether they become full members or not based on their understanding of our politics and whether they have made the commitments they said they would. All existing members of the CWF should submit a similar statement of intent.
(Dave, Birmingham CW)

16 This conference agrees that a new member's pack should be produced to include: Aims & Principles; constitution; job description of national officers; a clear explanation of how the CWF is organised (NDC, national conference, IB, decision-making, the production of *Heavy Stuff* and *Class War*); an explanation of how to make proposals, how to mandate delegates, how to recall officers, how to write for *Heavy Stuff*, *Class War* etc; copies of 'This Is Class War' and 'Unfinished Business'.
The member's pack must be read, understood and gone through with all applicants before they are accepted into the CWF.
(Thev, Bristol CW; Nette, Leeds CW; Brian, Leeds CW; London CW)

17 This conference agrees that
a) weekly subs should be raised to (*by?*) at least 10%
(Jim, Dartmoor CW)
or b) that the membership fee shall be £12 per year payable to national funds. In addition there will be a levy of £1 per week for employed comrades/50p per week for unemployed and students; of this levy 1/3 is to be paid to national funds.
(Tim, London CW)

LOCAL GROUPS

18 This conference agrees that
a) it is compulsory for all local groups to have an input into the IB, NDCs, and national conference, as a provision of their acceptance into the CWF
b) local groups must be in regular contact with the National Secretary.
(Dave, Birmingham CW)

19 This conference agrees that each group secretary must mail out a regular report of local activities to every other local group.
(Sam, London CW)

20 This conference agrees that there should be more emphasis on local group activity.
(This was suggested by virtually everybody, including: Norman, London CW; Dan, Bristol CW; Dave, Birmingham CW; Tyneside CW; Thev, Bristol CW. Although it is very vague we have included it because it seems a pretty vital concern to a lot of members; but hopefully by this stage in the conference, this discussion will already have been covered)

CO-ORDINATION & STRATEGY

21 This conference agrees that the CWF should appoint 'gossip-busters'.
(Russ, Birmingham CW)

22 This conference agrees that CWF members must use the proper channels to communicate information (eg national officers should contact local group secretaries, not their friends, about CW business).
(Ol, Bristol CW)

23 This conference agrees to produce a pamphlet to explain where the CWF stands, in relation to its own class, in relation to single issues etc.
(Ol, Bristol CW)

24 This conference
a) commits the CWF to holding 2 weekend-schools a year on subjects to be arranged by national conference
b) agrees that there should be at least one representative from each local group at each weekend-school.
(Dave, Birmingham CW)

25 This conference agrees to draw up tighter editorial guidelines for
a) *Heavy Stuff*
b) *Class War.*
(Thev, Bristol CW)

26 This conference agrees that the CWF should stand a candidate in the first by-election possible, with the support of all members.
(Ian and Lee, Bristol South CW)

27 This conference agrees that the CWF should initiate an anti-monarchy march on Buckingham Palace for October 1993.
(Ian and Lee, Bristol South CW)

28 This conference agrees to initiate the formation of a physical force group at a local and national level.
(Ian and Lee, Bristol South CW)

29 This conference notes that over the years the CWF has tended to emphasise 'community involvement' to the almost total exclusion of workplace activity. While this ignores the fact that around 20 million people have a workplace, it also ignores the fact that around 9 million are still in unions, and that many workplaces are located in the community. London CW to take on the task of looking at our attitude to the workplace - trade unions and anti-union laws; forms of workplace organisation (i.e. rank & file, autonomous action); workplace involvement in the community (i.e. workers' best interests are often the best interests of the community, and vice versa). London CW to publish initial ideas in the IB (Internal Discussion Bulletin, if agreed), other comrades to reply directly to London CW, revised ideas to go back into the bulletin etc etc.
(London CW)

30 This conference agrees that London be recognised as a region in its own right, covering the 32 London boroughs (population approx 10 million, about 20% of the country).
(Tim, London CW)

31 This conference agrees that Sam (London CW) sings 'The Internationale' and that Ivan (Birmingham CW) sings 'Yellow Submarine'.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS

T/SOR/49/1/5/8

SUMMARISED MINUTES OF N.D.C - 6:3:93.

BEFORE I TYPE THE MINUTES!:- I received written contributions for the N.D.C from both Glasgow C.W and Tyneside C.W, but they arrived too late. I have already contacted these groups about this, but in future it would be worth bearing in mind that it is firstly a good idea to let me know that written contributions are being sent in advance, and secondly to send them to the Brum PO Box because mail is collected from there on the Friday before N.D.C, I can't guarantee which one of two internal addresses I will be at on the morning of N.D.C. I am sorry that these groups were therefore not represented at N.D.C.

Tyneside have requested that I enclose the Heavy Stuff report with these minutes that was in the last I.B because it was difficult to read and also the 'Year Planner' to see if other groups would find this a useful thing to have. Anyway, on with the minutes...

PRESENT:- JOCK (LONDON), PETE (PLYMOUTH), CAROL (LIVERPOOL), SVEN (DERBY). KEVIN (EDINBURGH), NETTE (LEEDS), TED (BRISTOL) AND PAUL (BIRMINGHAM).
POST HOLDERS (NO VOTE):- DAVE (NATIONAL SEC.), DARREN (NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP SEC.).
CONTRIBUTIONS IN WRITING FROM:- MANCHESTER C.W AND SHEFFIELD C.W.
OBSERVER:- FRANK (ESSEX).

1) NEXT CONFERENCE

i) London C.W have agreed to host the next National Conference. A date was set for it to be held on 19th & 20th June. The deadline for the preliminary agenda was thought to have been set too far in advance for groups to have had enough time to have considered submitting motions. Therefore a further 28 days was agreed on for additions to the agenda to be made, that leaves a deadline of 3:4:93. The existing preliminary agenda will be sent out and the next N.D.C will take into account any additions when it sets the final agenda.

ii) The preliminary agenda was set (it may be included with these minutes or separate). I.B 35 should be used to debate motions on the preliminary agenda. Ammendments should be sent to N.D.C on 1:5:93 for final agenda.

2) FUTURE N.D.C's

i) Agreed that N.D.C's should now be held four times a year instead of six. London C.W thought it should be left as it is. The change will be written into the amended constitution to be ratified at next conference.

ii) All agreed that emergency N.D.C's can still be called by the Nat. Sec. with at least 72 hours notice.
It was also generally agreed that all business that takes up unnecessary time at National Conference should be dealt with by N.D.C, leaving conference almost exclusively to deal with political debate.
Kevin (Edinburgh) also wants the day changed to Sundays for N.D.C's because of it being cheaper to travel on Saturdays and Sundays. No decision could be made because of it not being on the agenda so it will have to go on the agenda for next N.D.C.

3) CONSTITUTION

This was combined with kevins 'a wee report' proposal as most of that was also constitutional change. The amended constitution was dealt with bit by bit with Pete pointing out the areas where he had made the changes. This was a very lengthy process, too lengthy to minute, but the final amended amended constitution will be sent out and dealt with to be ratified at next National Conference.

4) NEW MEMBERS PACK

i) Agreed that Leeds C.W would put together the new members pack, the final product to be held and co-ordinated by the Nat. Membership Sec. The final product should be presented for acceptance at the next conference. Agreed that it should contain everything outlined on the N.D.C agenda plus a peice on 'Interventionism' to be written by Russ and Dave from Brum. This will basically outline some ideas on how best activists can operate around the issues of their localities, with attention paid to isolated members. Will also incorporate honesty about the Fed, what people are getting themselves into and the fact that revolution is likely to be a long haul and wont happen overnight.

ii) Agreed that the new members pack should contain a copy of 'Unfinished Business', and that the initial joining fee should be £5 waged or £2:50 low/unwaged.

iii) All agreed that a total of £200 betaken from the National bank A/C to finance the production cost of the new members pack, although obviously it would be less than that if production costs didn't amount to that much. The Nat. Membership Sec. will then supply all groups with the new members pack as and when required.

iv) All agreed that we should have a National Enquirers pack, although we should always recognise the need for a personal reply to enquirers also. Darren (Plymouth) will get this together.

v) Agreed that new members should have read, understood and have gone through the new members pack with their local or nearest group before being accepted into the Fed.

5) INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Pete (Plymouth) - it would be good to have something for us to do over this Summer. Maybe we shouldn't have it over a week but a weekend instead. Or even make it a National Conference of all 'anarchist' groups in this country.
(Bristol) - not against the idea, but should we be doing it? Should we be sorting out our strategy? We should be sorting ourselves out fundamentally before considering another International Conference.
(Leeds) - we shouldn't have another. Stlii haven't seen the minutes from the last one (at which point a document the size of 'War and Peace' miraculously appeared and we were informed that they were the very Int. Conference minutes). This September is too soon, we should look into it and maybe consider holding it at a later date.
(brum) - against the idea. For all the work, effort and resourses that were put into the last one we didn't really get much of a return. We could call a European Conference over a weekend to talk about specific issues that are now affecting us all throughout Europe.
(Edinburgh) - the last I.C was a stunt, but a good stunt. We could do a UK based conference rather than an International one.
Pete eventually withdrew his proposal, he will work on an amended proposal to be forwarded to the next conference.

6) BUDGET FOR INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY

Agreed that expenses for the I.S would be paid from the National bank A/C. The Int. Sec. should contact Nat. Sec. when expenses are required - providing the finance exists!!

7) HEAVY STUFF

After some debate we concluded that paper delegates would get together with Heavy Stuff representatives for a day in Edinburgh to discuss changes to both the paper and the Heavy Stuff. This will be discussed at conference and the meeting will take place afterwards to try and sort things from there.

8) MOTIONS FROM LAST CONFERENCE

Decided that N.D.C would not discuss outstanding proposals left over from the last conference.

9) C.W 'SPLIT'

Lots of debate on this one. This is not a split, this is Ian Bones idea from the start and he has used Tim Scargill as a front man. They should be discredited, shown up to have no principles and basically made to look rediculous. Agreed to:-

i) Send a principled, disciplined letter to the National media from our National Secretary. This should tell them that Tim & Ians group are not members of the C.W.F and therefore they shouldn't be referred to as such. The new hotline number should be made clear and they are to be told that they should contact us on that for further information. People with the hotline should be prepared for this.

ii) A letter should be sent to all 'anarchist' groups on the Left, this would be a mixture of a letter we send to our supporters and the one we send to the media.

iii) Darren (Plymouth) to send a letter explaining the situation to all our supporters.

iv) That anyone involved in Tim & Ians organisation should understand that they can't also be involved within the Federation. Existing members should clarify which side they are on. Darren (Plymouth) will send a letter to all current members requiring them to clarify where they stand.

v) That a letter be sent to Tim & Ian telling them that they have got to stop using the name of C.W.

vi) That the situation is covered in the next issue of the paper, an article will be written that will totally ridicule and discredit the new organisation.

DEADLINE FOR NEXT N.D.C AGENDA:- 12:4:93

NEXT N.D.C:- 1:5:93

BEING SENT OUT AGAIN DUE TO ILLEGIBILITY IN I.B. (sorry!)
T|SOR|49|1|5|8

TYNESIDE C W - GROUP REPORT

Since the November conference:

We're down to ~~4~~ 3 members (having lost ~~4~~, most of which had been inactive for last year!) still supporters. Has nothing to do with "CWO"!

Produced H.S. "Special Edition" in conjunction with Edinburgh CW (see Heavy Stuff report). Started on HS 6.

Involved with the "broader" Tyneside Anarchist Group, made up largely of non-aligned individuals with differing interests and ideas about what to do. Monthly discussion meetings aimed at producing propaganda (posters and more detailed leaflets to send to people writing-in in response to posters) on different issues.

More frequent, but smaller, TCW meetings about national Fed. business and Heavy Stuff.

Weekly papersales, renewed PO box, closed TCW a/c due to extortionate bank charges courtesy of TSB! (HS a/c still open at Co-op).

A couple of us are starting work on a local newsletter, aimed at the immediate area we live in, about local issues.

"HEAVY STUFF" REPORT

(updated since Jan. conference).

Current Tyneside editorial group replaced defunct one (who did HS 4) in October '91.

the situation **THEN**:-

DEBTS - £200 (printer's bill)
BANK BALANCE - £37.01
ALSO - large sum of money unaccounted for
- orders left unanswered

the situation **NOW**:-

HS 5 produced July '92 - printed 1500
- remaining 450

Special Edition produced Dec. '92 - printed 500
- remaining 200
(we expected groups to take these remaining copies at the Jan. conference but this didn't happen - see later).

BANK BALANCE - £190 (approx).
PLUS - printing bills for BOTH issues have been paid (£500 + £200)
ALSO - we've had orders from as far away as New Zealand, South Africa, USA, Sweden, Switzerland.

So we've managed to turn the situation around nicely - we're grateful to Kevin (Edinburgh) for all his hard work and are glad to hear that he'll continue doing layout.

WE'VE STARTED WORK ON ISSUE 6 BUT STILL FEEL THAT H.S. COULD BE DOING MUCH BETTER:

important!

We are still short of articles for the next issue (THE BIGGEST PROBLEM WE FACED WITH H.S. 5) despite making regular requests, since last summer, through I.B.'s, conferences, NDC's, mailers to groups etc.
We put together a questionnaire for HS feedback which has been largely ignored. Previously we also asked for views on the idea of a future issue being written by women only - deafening silence! We've suggested ideas for articles and we've also left it completely open on other occasions - deafening silence!

At the emergency conference it was requested, from the chair, that each group took a copy of the statement about HS that had been prepared, as well as bulk orders of the Special Edition - nothing happened, not a veggie sausage!

. important!

This conference was hectic we know, but during the brief discussion on HS that arose and the vote on the proposal (which we welcomed with enthusiasm) that each group writes to the next I.B. with their views on what they think the purpose of HS should be (i.e. propaganda or public discussion forum), MOST PEOPLE ABSTAINED!!

Did this vote mean that people think HS is a public discussion forum and should remain this way? If so, there doesn't seem to be much discussion going on, so maybe this is inappropriate! Does the lack of articles reflect wider problems of the Fed? Do people feel unable to contribute because HS has too "polished" (glossy/pricey) an image?

As the proposal at conference failed we have included here a second, more straightforward, HS questionnaire. If the response to this is as silent as other feedback has been in the past our next question may well be "will somebody else edit HS?" as the apparent interest in it doesn't warrant all the effort we are putting in - we are only a small group!

HEAVY STUFF QUESTIONNAIRE

(please return to: HS, PO Box 1QF, Ncle-Upon-Tyne, NE99 1QF.)

1) What do you think the purpose of HS should be:

— propaganda? (please elaborate...).....

.....

OR: — public discussion forum for individuals in/outside (within reason!) the Fed?.....

2) How should HS be sold: (this affects how many we print!)

— primarily through the ad. in the paper? (like other merchandise).....

— through groups, to members/supporters at meetings?.....

— through papersales/newsagents alongside the paper?.....

3) Ideal price (eg. cheaper if it's to sell on papersales)?.....

4)Any other comments?.....

.....

.....

.....

Can comrades at least send us some letters for publication in HS6 : long or short, on anything at all or feedback (criticism/suggestions) about HS5 or special edition.

Ta!

T/SOR/49/1/5/8

CLASS WAR

PO Box 2531, Smethwick, Warley B66 2NH

CLASS WAR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

LONDON - 19th & 20th JUNE 1993

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Here is the preliminary agenda for the next Class War National Conference. This will be held in London and details of venue (maps, socials etc) will be included in the next I.B. At the last N.D.C it was decided to add a further 28 days would be allowed for additions to this agenda, so if anyone wants to add any motions, you have until 3:4:93. After that all amendments to this agenda should be submitted before the next N.D.C which is due to take place on 1st May '93, that is where the final agenda will be set. The motions on this agenda should be debated through I.B 35. As this is a group address mailout it is the responsibility of all group secs./contacts to make sure that all other members in their groups at least see a copy.

AGENDA:-

* Opening speech - London speaker.
* Reports from all National Postholders.
* Election of National Postholders.
* Reports from all local groups.
* Policy decisions taken by N.D.C.
* Motions on the Constitution and Aims & Principles.
  i) Amended constitution to be ratified.
  ii) See attached proposal (A) - 'Changes to Aims and Principles'.
* Other Motions.
  i) 'New Members Pack' to be ratified.
  ii) Debate on the future of the paper and the Heavy Stuff. To be concluded with a one day meeting in Edinburgh between paper delegates and representatives of the Heavy Stuff.
  iii) 'Building a culture of resistance within our class', 'Rebuilding a revolutionary movement', 'Building am International movement'. See attached proposal (B) i), ii) and iii).
  iv) Anti-Social Crime. See attached proposal (C) 1.
  v) The current economic situation. See attached proposal (C) 2.
  vi) 'Northern Ireland'. See attached proposal (C) 3.
* Any Other Business.
* Closing Speech.

(A)

PROPOSAL - CHANGES TO AIMS AND PRINCIPLES.

THIS IS CLASS WAR

The Class War Federation is an organisation of groups and individfuals who have come together inorder to promote and assist revolutionary politics in the working class.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

*This society is divided into classes on the basis of wealth and power. The ruling class on top, who are supported by most of the middle class; and the majority, the working class.
*Capitalism is a social system, based on exploitation, oppression and injustice. It will destroy us, unless we destroy it first.
*The working class are the only social force, with the strength and capability to destroy capitalism.
*This real change can only come through EDUCATION, AGITATION and DIRECT ACTION.
*We support all forms of direct action - including violence - which collectively increases the strength and confidence of working class struggles.
*We oppose leaderships put upon the working class. Reformist or revolutionary leaderships are ultimately reactionary, and just recreate hierarchy and inequality that we wish to destroy.
*We need to actively promote the fullest amount of democracy within the class struggle.
*Class inequality stands alongside other social oppressions based upon gender, race,sexuality, etc. Such reactionary prejudices causes much misery in our society, and are as major barrier to radical change.
*We recognise the need for such groups (women , blacks, gays, etc.) to organise their own liberation. We need to support such initiatives and challenge all prejudices and bigotry.
*Capitalism is based on global inequality through imperialism. We support peoples' right for self-determination against imperialism. But only through the destruction of capitalism through open class warfare can we hope to achieve a more equal world.
*For us life is politics and poitics is life. We see the need to change the boring, alienating nature of politics. Humour, energy and excitement, are needed if our politics is to become widespread and popular.

OUR AIM

The aim of Class war Federation is not to lead, but increase the militancy of the working class struggles.

We want to contribute to a CULTURE OF RESISTENCE, within the working class.
We also aim to develop a libertarian revolutionary movement, based in the working class.

WHAT WE DO
The Federation produces propaganda at a local and national level.
We involve ourselves in self-education and debate with our class, as equals.
We're involved in working class struggles and we encourage involvement from those who want REAL change.

If you want to get involved as either a member or supporter, GET IN TOUCH.

THE PROPOSAL TO SUBSTITUTE THE ABOVE A's + P's FOR THE CURRENT ONES, ~~[illegible]~~ SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS INFLEXIBLE.
THE WORDING CAN BE CHANGED, IF IT IS NOT SATISFACTORY - BUT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE POLITICAL POINTS ARE DEBATED (IF NEEDS BE).
THE NEED TO CHANGE OUR A's + P's, IS ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO CLARIFY OUR POLITACAL THAOUGHT → IT IS THE BASIS OF ALL OUR FUTURE.
READ CRITICALLY - CRITICISIZE CONSTRUCTIVELY

PROPOSED - D. THEV - BRISTOL CLASS WAR
SECONDED - DAN - BRISTOL CW.

PS. THIS DRAFT OF THE A's + P's, IS inspired by the Politics of 'UnfinishedBusinisd' - All the politics come from there.

(B)

MORE PROPOSALS FOR THE CONFERENCE AGENDA!

That the conference agenda includes debate (and any practical proposals) for the following:-

i) *BUILDING A CULTURE OF RESISTENCE WITHIN OUR CLASS.
(what is it, how can we assist to further the aims of revolutionary politics).

ii) * REBUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
(basically our ideas and strategies to turn resistence to revolution; what a movement will need; the organisation of such a movement , etc.)

iii) * BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT
(How we can effectively become 'INTERNATIONALIST')

I realise that we could have a conference/dayschool on each topic; but I believe we need to talk about all three topics if we are to have any clue as to where we aim to go.
I hope that these proposals for discussion will encourage all members/groups to put forward ideas through the IB, and to discuss at length, to get the most productive debate.

MORE ESSENTIAL POLITICS, LESS BUSINESS IS NEEDED AT CONFERENCE, WHICH IS THE LARGEST ASSEMBELY WITHIN THE FED.

PROPOSED: D. THEV - BRISTOL.
SECONDED: DAN. - BRISTOL.

(c)

SOME CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

1. Anti-Social Crime:

This is a major aspect of working class life in this country. No-one wants to be mugged, burgled, assaulted. This has helped to further undermine an already greatly weakened sense of working class community. In many working class areas there is an atmosphere of fear. If we are to be serious about preparing for revolution, then we have to discuss anti-social crime in the here and now - what are its causes, how it is used by the state to split communities, what can be done about it, what are the lessons from vigilante groups, etc. There has already been coverage of anti-social crime in the paper but I propose that Class War seeks to organise a tour along the lines of the Summer of Discontent about this. This could be tied in to a national poster for flyposting and stickers and also an attempt to get media coverage. If this conference agrees to this (and it is important that people are realistic about this proposal and don't just support it because "it's a good idea" - if it is going to work, then it will need a lot of work from everyone here), then a group of say three people is set up to co-ordinate the tour/the publicity/the media/the speakers and the local groups themselves get local venues.

Proposed - Norman (London Class War)

2. The current economic situation:

Class War needs to discuss the current economic situation and what its potential impact on the working class is going to be; for example, is the recession going to continue, will Japan enter into deeper recession, what is happening with the European superstate, will there be a world war in the next 10 years, etc? We need to know what is going on in order to respond more effectively and efficiently. We need to be looking ahead so that we can prepare now for what is going to possibly happen. Ideas about this should be put forward in the next issue of the IB.

Proposed - Sam (London Class War)

3. Northern Ireland:

in August 1969 a Labour government sent British Army units onto the streets of Belfast and Derry. Today there are still 30,000 troops, paramilitary police, SAS and local auxilaries in the six counties that make up 'Northern Ireland' - together, they patrol an area about the size of Yorkshire with a population less than that of Birmingham. What has happened in the north of Ireland? What can we learn from the events there (as the state has learned eg crowd control)? What should our position be (if we even need to have a 'position')? Should we openly criticise the IRA's current strategy? What are the links between the struggle in northern Ireland and here? What is happening in the rest of Ireland?

Proposed - Phil (London Class War)

T/SOR/49/Mick/15/8

Childhood's End

The Future of The Class War Federation

VIOLENCE IS A GOOD SERVANT BUT A BAD MASTER.

John Casey
Alan Pullen
Kevin Learnmouth
Pete Parry

June 1993

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INTRODUCTION

This article is taken from a larger work called "The Big Picture" which is still in progress as it's name suggests this will deal with the current condition of the working class, capitalism and society. The aim of **Childhood's End**, however, is to address the predicament of the anarchist revival in the UK and the present experience of the Class War Federation.

In writing this we are aiming at the membership, supporters and sympathisers of the Class War Federation and not at the general public. Bearing this in mind we have adopted a more 'technical' style and 'harder' approach because we think the situation merits it. By 'technical' we mean that we have introduced a number of terms and ideas that are specialist to the study of class struggle politics and have come from past workers in the field. To expand a little on this: we would compare ourselves to, say, car mechanics who have a specialist collection of words to describe things that they encounter in their trade (piston, manifold, venturi etc.). This is done to save time and confusion. Likewise we have introduced specialist terms here. At the end of this article there is a short list of definitions. We have tried to adopt a pretty tough stance because we feel, like many others in the anarchist movement, the present situation is very serious. The current crisis in capitalism and the collapse of the left means that our anarchist and libertarian communist politics and ideals may well get the chance to be tested again in the furnace of history. If this is the case there is no room for the complacency that has dogged British anarchism for the past few years.

This is a rushed piece and tends to ramble and rant in places, but we hope you you find it useful. In this article we use the term "the left" as a generic label to include everything from the Labour party to the ultra-left, the anarchists and Class War.

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THE PRESENT

First some basics: the materialist analysis of history is useful. The only way of fully understanding all the varied events that constitute recent and past history is by looking at (amongst other things), the relationship between the productive forces at work in society, which also implies looking at issues from a class perspective. Capitalism is the thread which runs through and links racism, sexism, environmental problems, sexuality etc. In short, everything (good and bad) intersects and happens in the arena of capitalism and class.

Those who profess revolutionary ambitions and ideals negate them by ignoring the material relations around them. Some of the left and anarchists in recoiling from the miserable reductionism of the Lenin/Trotsky experiment fell into this trap.The Situationists being a prime example of this, which should not obscure some of their useful contributions. But we must be clear that we do not think it possible to overturn capitalism and the state by combating them solely in the cultural arena, just as we hold it impossible to do so by conflict purely at the base (economic means). Which is where most of the left are still at.

There is little doubt that the forces of capitalism are mounting a huge offensive against our class around the world. Wars, famine, poverty, unemployment etc. are everywhere. Opposition to this state of affairs is weak and fragmented. Sporadic outbreaks of violence such as the riots in Europe and the USA of the last decade or so have had no effect and little revolutionary content except to encourage the fantasies amongst the ultra-left and the anarchists. The level of violence used by the working class does not necessarily relate to political content. It is also important to note that these conflicts happened in the realm of consumption and distribution. Without change also happening at the area of production these social conflicts cannot progress further. The international changes occurring in production make the internationalism of the the working class vital.

The attempt to understand present day society in terms of one or more disparate single-issue movements explains much of the poverty of the present anarchist movement. In place of a class and materialist analysis of society they use bourgeois moralism to weld together their single issue politics and activities. They know their politics cannot survive an encounter with a thorough-going materialist analysis of society - so they avoid it. We presume and hope that this is not the case with Class War since it has nailed its flag firmly to the class struggle mast.

The trouble with Class War is that it has had to pull itself up by its own bootstraps out of the mire of the anarchist scene. Its first formal statement of politics, *Unfinished Business*, was as much a process of self-

education as a theoretical platform aimed at the outside world. As such it is aimed at the general working class as much as the average members of the Federation. This is reasonable, and honest, but leads us to conclude that there is much more theoretical work ahead for the Federation. There are large differences between current members understanding of class politics - this makes it very difficult for the Federation to function and for real democracy when there is such an imbalance between the political development of individuals.We shall return to the question of *politics* later when we examine what possible role Class War might fill.

Capitalism

Far from being a figment of our imagination as some of the left and anarchists propose, there is such a thing as capitalism. In its brief history this form of production has radically changed the world and brought unprecedented suffering in the form of war, famine, genocide, poverty, social division, forced migration on a huge scale and massive environmental damage. As a corollary to the fact of capitalism is the fact of a society divided into classes and the inevitability of conflict between these classes.

After the great waves of revolutionary activity that shook Europe in the first quarter of this century and the problems experienced by the major economies the ruling class realised they had to give some ground and re-organise if they were going to survive. The main methods in the UK were the incorporation of the social democrat trend in the workers movements into the state structures by the end of WW1.This trend combined a belief in the notion of being able to reform bourgeois democracy and in national chauvinism. This is what came to be known as "Labourism" in the UK, ie. the grouping of the Labour party, the unions, TUC, Co-op societies etc., and over the years has been of great assistance to the ruling class. More than once it has saved their bacon - as one of them graciously stated when discussing the revolutionary period after the first world war;

"Trade Union organisation was the only thing between us and anarchy", Lord Balfour.

The British ruling class decided they had to have some sort of formal state intervention in capitalism to prevent its worst excesses. The general health, welfare, housing and education reforms of the first half of this century were a result of this and were themselves based on experience gathered by the Victorian paternalist employers who saw the need for 'improvement' and the municipal reforms carried out by the local and regional bourgeoisie, such as the construction of modern sewage systems. What sped many of these reforms was the Boer War in South Africa - many of those enlisting as soldiers, to escape poverty, were found to be too unhealthy to die for their country!

These factors together with the empire and the privileged position of the UK economy in international capitalism helped to insulate the UK from outside economic swings and kept the working class in line. This all contributed to a cozy paternalistic self-image of British society that drew heavily on the myth-making of the Victorian era. But now the economic cement in this social structure is turning to dust and the walls are creaking as the British economy is going into serious decline.The decline of manufacturing with the uncertainty over the future of the finance centre of London has taken away two of the main pillars of the UK economy. And of course the empire is no longer there to provide a captive market as it was until the 60's. The end of the cold war is also making life very difficult for the UK arms industry - still one of the world's largest. Yet the hold of Labourism is still the best protection the ruling class have (but that is no news to anarchists!).

The strategy of the UK ruling class is going to be the usual one - screw the workers. In practice this means that although the UK economy is in decline and actually shrinking they are going to try and protect their profits by cutting costs - lower wages, longer hours, poorer conditions etc. They have consistently refused to re-invest and modernise since before the second world war preferring instead to use their profits to invest elsewhere. This tendency has led to Britain becoming an international headquarters for some multi-national companies, BP, ICI, BTR, Unilever, Banking, Shipping etc. The Thatcher boom which followed the Thatcher slump of 1981-83 was fuelled by slashing workforce costs in manufacturing as well as deregulating the city of London. This deregulation was intended to protect the flagging position of the London finance centre in an increasingly hostile market. But this unleashed the more chaotic forces of capital and combined with new technology (electronic fund transfers) created currency speculation on a huge scale, 'creative' accounting practices, junk-bonds, leveraged buy-outs etc. All these changes together with privatisation revenues and huge increases in credit injected lots of 'hot' money into the UK and world economy. The effect of all this has been to deepen the current economic crisis in the UK, it is against this background that we must view the current offensive against the working class. Now there is little 'fat' left to cut we shall see some major surgery that will make the period from 1975-93 look like the good old days. Welfare, health and education will take deep cuts. Wages will continue to decline.

The problem that the working class have in confronting this situation is *political.* The '80s saw some very active and militant disputes around the workplaces and of course the anti-poll tax movement and community riots but the working class were still effectively hobbled by Labourism and could not pose an alternative to the status-quo, apart from better management which is the traditional Labourist and social democratic answer. The negative effect of Labourism on the working class is neatly expressed

here by a Scottish historian;

"A working class movement suffering from class conscious schizophrenia - that is, radical over economic questions and conservative in its social attitudes - will never emancipate itself from capitalist society." James D Young.

The post-war boom of 1945-70 is now fondly looked back on by many as the good old days just as the 5 year mini boom of 1983-88 in England is looked back on with yearning by the 'Thatcher Generation'. This sense of loss is real to many in our class and is similar to that felt by the people forced into low paid factory work and squalid living conditions in the early 19th century:

"The history of the weavers in the 19th century is haunted by legends of better days..."

This is how the Midland stocking-weavers of the 1780's were remembered;

"...when the wake [holiday] came, the stocking maker had peas and beans in his snug garden, and a good barrel of humming ale."

This is how conditions deteriorated for the weavers of Belfast by the 1830s;

"...a quarter once renowned for its neatness and order; he remembered their whitewashed houses, and their little flower gardens, and the decent appearance they made with their families at markets, or at public worship. These houses were now a mass of filth and misery..."

And this is how William Cobbet (of *Rural Rides*) describes the changes in Halifax in Yorkshire during the same period;

"It is truly lamentable to behold so many thousands of men who formerly earned 20 to 30 shillings per week, now compelled to live upon 5'4 shillings or even less...It is the more sorrowful to behold these men in their state, as they retain the frank and bold character formed in the days of their independence." The Making of the English Working Class, EP Thompson.

These could all be descriptions of working class communities in the 1990's from, say, areas that used to have full employment in coal, steel and engineering etc. Twenty years ago to the recently 'dispossessed' areas of southern England whose builders and white collar workers are trying to come to terms with unemployment and wage cuts. It is important for activists to be aware that the *continuity* of capitalism is its attacks on the working class, in order to be able to agitate and educate all the better.

It's clearly recognised by many of us in the working class that we are passing into a new era where the post-war gains of the working class in the realms of health, education, employment, wages, welfare, housing etc. are now quickly becoming fondly remembered pieces of folklore just like the weavers vegetable plots, smallholdings and festivals. And the effects on our communities are just as dire as they were on our predecessors at the start of the industrial revolution.

Community

"The Post Industrial Society", a rather inaccurate term, is used by the capitalists to mystify the continuing re-organisation that capitalism is going through. A better,or more accurate, term might be the phrase "The Dislocation of Production and Consumption". Previously in the industrialised world production and consumption tended to coincide (although never completely).

Now production is moving out to the second/third world. In societies like the UK this has led to an intensification of cultural control/oppression to contain the growing social pressures caused by rapidly increasing material poverty.

Examples: the drive to maximise profits in the consumer arena has given rise to intense marketing aimed at those with disposable income such as the purchase of shoes. Trainers are a market that barely existed 10 years ago. Now for young people the possession of certain types of footwear is directly linked to their standing amongst their peer group.Thus people are now paying up to and sometimes more than £100 for footwear that costs little more to make than less glamorous items (the working class as fashion casualties?). Nintendo the electronic games manufacturers announced world wide sales of $4 billion last year. It is these products with their larger profit margins that are helping keep capitalism out of the shit! Together with the extension of imperialism.

The disintegrating and fragmenting nature of personal, family, work and community relations is a direct result of this process. Our own class is confused, demoralised, scared and turning its anger in on itself in a self destructive manner. The ideas of solidarity, community etc. now have to be argued <u>for</u> within our class <u>again</u> .

Community - its there and its not there. The word has been much abused by the social work and governmental machine. But we should remember that it is the root word of communism. Our notion of community is based on the fact that working class people have much the same basic experience under capitalism and the state: this obviously tends to common identity, common fears and aspirations, common interests. This commonality of experience cannot be destroyed but it can be fragmented and distorted enough by the capitalist hegemony, culture, propaganda and indoctrination which in the West has reached a very sophisticated level and has huge resources devoted to it. (Every ruling class worth its salt understands the power and value of propaganda. In the UK in 1993 the government is prepared to pay more to unemployed people to push them off the dole queues onto invalidity benefit - at considerable

expense.).

So, when we talk about community we are talking about a set of social experiences and relations which are overlaid by the artificial 'community' of capitalist society. *Our* community is in constant tension and friction with the capitalist community and is always trying to *become*. In times of conflict between our class and capital our community starts to become *fact* in the course of strikes ,struggles, conflicts and riots.

The demise of community is recognised by certain sectors of the capitalist machine: the entertainment, advertising, market research and public relations industries etc. Thus certain products are marketed in a manner designed to appeal to that lost sense of community. In fact some product sectors are consciously trying to remake community around their products in a manner that links consumption of their products to the *re-creation* of community. Some examples: Kleenex tissue adverts (women sitting around together,decorating etc.), Maxwell House Coffee, Tescos and computers for schools; MacDonalds and Wimpy burgers; Soap Operas like Coronation St., East Enders, Brookside; shopping centres like the Metro in Newcastle and 'Heritage' theme-parks. And of course, period pieces like 'The Darling Buds of May' which are hugely successful because they portray a warm and engaging image of 'community'.

It is ironic, of course, that having fragmented and pressurised working class communities to, and sometime beyond, breaking point that they are then making money out of selling us back that very image of community that so many of us long for! The capitalist project of course has its own ideas and plans for what 'community' should be - a kind of cross between The Sun, radio phone-ins, Crime-watch UK, Neighbourhood Watch, East Enders and Comic Relief. Of course this doesn't hang together but it manages to feed off the real underlying community as a kind of parasite enough for us to find it extremely difficult to make sense of the world we are forced to live in.

What is needed at this point in the struggle is a sense of vision, of hope, of possibility, that can begin to dismantle this whole edifice of capitalist values and culture - the Hegemony, the Weltanshauung. The failure of the left has been to ignore this dimension in favour of materialistic goals, allied to Labourism in the UK particularly (also known as social democracy elsewhere). Those groups to the left of Labour have similarly failed in this task because they have been unable to move beyond reformulations of Lenin and Trotsky at the theoretical level when what has been required is a complete re-evaluation of their ideas.This combined with the mind numbing dogmatism and sectarianism of these traditions is the main reason for the failure of the left. In a sentence it is bad theory and even worse practice.

Recently many of left intelligentsia have been announcing the "end of the working class". Their exploration of capitalism's superstructures (as favoured by Gramsci) and the mechanisms of creating consciousness (Lukacs - see later) have had the effect of them becoming the advance scouting party of modern capitalism. The political agenda of the British left is now so degenerated that it almost completely reflects the concerns of the petit-bourgeoisie [more later].The left here have always regarded politics as a *game* - something that they were not going to be held to account for , revolution was something that happens elsewhere. The reality, however, is that the working class are still here. As far as maintaining a cultural and propaganda hold on society is concerned the ruling class have to be lucky all the time - we have to be lucky only once...

In our mind it is important not to underestimate the tragic effects that the left has had on the struggle in the course of the 20th century. Equally it would be foolish to underplay the power of the counter-revolution since 1917, especially in its current genesis. The current situation is grave indeed both in the UK and in the rest of the world.

The Anarchists

Their problem here, is that they are unable to move beyond their immediate concerns and subjective needs.This is why they have little common theory and no ideas for strategy beyond 'good works', life styles and tail-ending events and disputes etc. It is no surprise that they are the amongst the most marginalised of the left.

Many of the anarchists exist on a diet of activism, and the attempt to break various bourgeois taboos. The present anarchist movement seems suffused with an air of self-importance and righteousness that draws heavily on moralism. The writings of the situationists of the '50s and '60s are a big influence on the present crop of anarchists either explicitly or implicitly in the emphasis on *gestures and form*. Unfortunately only the negative elements of situationism have been retained ie. the reaction against dogmatic Marxist-Leninism and mechanist materialism. The positive sense of need for an overall vision has been lost. These various elements combine to produce an anarchist movement that is deeply flawed, it has become,

"...fodder for a public of monsters, who are neither workers nor intellectual and who *do* nothing. Barren of practice, of passion, and often of needs, they have nothing between them but *psychological* problems. When people come together without *doing* anything, they have nothing in common but their subjectivity...they have the impression that the essential reality resides in immediate intersubjective relations, and that revolutionary action consists in developing a *radicality* at this level, in particular in escaping from wage labour, which coincides with their existence as declasses. The secret of this radicality

consists of rejecting everything that exists (including the revolutionary movement) so as to oppose to it whatever seems farthest away from it (even if this has nothing revolutionary about it). This pure *opposition* has nothing revolutionary about it but the words.The lifestyle has its rules, which are just as constricting as those of the "bourgeois" world. Most often, bourgeois values are inverted in apologetics for not working, for marginal existence, for everything that seems to transgress". From "*What is Situationism?*" by Jean Barrot.

The origins of Class War were firmly rooted in this milieu. The interesting thing about Class War is its attempts to move on from here.

The Marxist Left

Although they profess to have a common theoretical base and many groups possess a detailed strategy the fact is that there are massive differences and contradictions between the various Marxist groups. Unlike the anarchists and their self-imposed isolation they have had the opportunity to put some of their ideas into practice with pretty dire results. Their track record in producing cynics and disillusioned people is second to only to capitalism itself!

We find it quite amazing that the left can be so blind to the current economic and social facts that are staring them in the face despite (or because of?) the presence of so many 'well-educated' people in their ranks. Their theoretical weakness is plain to see as their 'intellectuals' melt away from the capitalist political advance. It is clear that the cold war period actually helped the left to survive frozen in-situ. It is significant that the collapse of the left has largely coincided with the collapse of the USSR.

But this collapse just serves to underline the complete dominance of international capitalism. We would argue that the formation and disintegration of state communism together with the associated party structures around the world has been the most significant event of this century. The present can only be understood by viewing it against the background wreckage of the historical project formed by Marx,Lenin and others.

Currently the left is in crisis but this is nothing new. Since the Russian revolution the left has been struggling to come to terms with the capitalist counter-revolution and the failures and excesses of the communist party.

The retreat of the left's intellectuals from the issues of class conflict can also be seen as part of a longer pattern. In a reaction to the economic reductionism of the Bolsheviks and the Communist Party and the unfolding disaster of the Russian revolution many of the intellectuals on the left started to examine more closely the relation between culture and society etc. (the superstructure) and the economic forces at work (the base). The works of Lukacs, Gramsci, Marcuse, Adorno, Saussure, Fisk, Benjamin, Fromm, Schumacher, Foucault, Cardan, Debord, Vaneigem, Gorze, Barthes, Althusser etc. and on to the present thriving 'culture industry', such as Terry Eagleton and co. are like the way markers on this road. This is not to denigrate any of their useful work, merely to point out an overall trend.

With such emphasis on understanding the *mechanisms* of capitalist society it is not surprising that much of this work has been co-opted by those functionaries of modern capitalism: advertising, entertainment, market research, public relations, journalism, television and of course academia. While the left have had this preoccupation about the superstructure of capitalist society the ruling class have mounted a fierce attack at the base economic levels of work, jobs, wages and welfare over the last 20 or so years from the last labour government to the present, it is not surprising that some of the left are saying goodbye to the working class. What we want to draw your attention to is that the present retreat from class has been building for some time. The Solidarity group in London in the '60s declared that capitalism had escaped from its economic contradictions based on the tendency of the rate of profit to fall (as described by Marx) and that the only question was how to use the productive forces of capitalism to benefit all. In other words capitalism would be able to be reformed. This was a fine example of the material conditions affecting the intellectual ie. the post war boom in the west and rising standards of living. The trouble is when such educated theorists talk crap they do it so well! To give solidarity their due they acknowledged this in their magazine in the '80s. But now we should look a little closer at the Marxist left and Class War's relation to it.

3

A NOD'S AS GOOD AS A WINK TO A BLIND HORSE: MARX, LENIN AND THE PARTY, AND CLASS WAR

Marx

It used to be fashionable to say that the trouble with Marx was Marxists and there is a lot of truth in this. Marx has suffered from being elevated to a god-like status. He should be viewed as a part of a continuum of left-wing and socialist thought. Much of his success was in gathering the work of previous writers into a coherent whole, unfortunately he was churlish at acknowledging his intellectual debts - all the time he spent in the British Library he was reading previous workers in the field and assimilating their work into his own. It could fairly be said for, instance, that he owed the concept of surplus value to William Thompson of Ireland which he had developed as early as the 1820s. Thompson's

works had a wide effect on the young socialist and co-operative movement in Europe.

There is undeniably a strong authoritarian streak running through Marx's writing and his personal conduct in the International Working Mens' Association. Also at times his own view of history is unduly mechanistic and he gets carried away with himself into delusions of omnipotent insight. He was was also a politician, and very ordinary human being. As an aside, it is interesting to note that Marx sued, in the bourgeois law courts, one of his critics to defend his reputation as a revolutionary! This not to detract from his achievements but to put him in a realistic perspective. Even his political opponents such as Bakunin acknowledged the worth of his economic theoretical work while fiercely disagreeing with Marx's *political* programme - that Lenin elaborated. The rewriting of history by the Marxists and Leninists has distorted much of revolutionary thinking to be subservient to Marx,Lenin and co.

Lenin and the party

The main attraction of Leninism and its *interpretation* of Marx is that it succeeds in giving the following *impressions* :

(1) A grand majestic sense of history that is understood through the tool of historical materialism. Thus the "riddle of history" is solved and everything falls into place.

(2) It gives the impression that the party through its superior knowledge has its hands on the levers of the engines that drive history. That with a push here, or a nudge there, the party will win.

(3) That by joining the party and particularly by becoming a *cadre* member an individual is by definition playing a useful role in the struggle against oppression. And as a considerable bonus becomes one of the 'elect' or 'chosen' ones.

(4) In the party an individual will find a well ordered structure and *know their place* , knowing from whom to take instructions and orders and who to give instructions and orders. That the social relations of capitalism are smoothly reproduced in the party is a comfort to many.

(5) The above factors along with the conviction that the party (vanguard) will lead the working class and that the party leaders will by necessity be petit-bourgeois has obvious attractions to people from the middle or upper classes. Joining the party is a continuation, not a rupture, of their class role in society ie. to manage and produce ideas.

All this tends to give the members of a Leninist party the impression of a perfectly seamless logical argument and in extreme cases leads to delusions of omnipotence. What we are against is this approach, this delusion. We do not reject the materialist analysis of history nor the dialectical method that the Leninists seek to base their arguments upon, we contend instead that Leninism is only one of many conclusions that can be derived from such a foundation.

Much of the Marxist left are still recycling the same dogma despite evidence to the contrary, only their theoretical convolutions become more absurd. Like the ancient Greek astronomers who when presented with evidence that the earth moved around the sun constructed a fantastic theory to prove otherwise. It is not enough to update Lenin and Trotsky et al. A complete rethink is long overdue amongst the left.

This should not be so. One of the reasons Marx can be a difficult and dense to read is his appreciation of, and use of, the dialectical method. It is this which is so missing in the left and leads to the mechanistic approach. People are not merely instruments in the hands of economic destiny, but neither are they independent of economic forces. One of the reasons that Leninist groups like the RCP and Analysis write so well is because they *see* so little. It is this lack of appreciation of the dynamics at work in society that stop them understanding the *possibilities* of a situation. At this point, they say, it is a time to lay low and wait for more favourable conditions, yet it seems to us obvious that it has always been the case that if people know what they are doing they *can* influence events. Revolution is not a neat and tidy set of equations and once you understand this life gets easier, eg. the crew of the Granma that started the Cuban revolution were not acting out some divine plan.

Some of the left have always known this but the party structures have failed to act on it, as CLR James wryly pointed out after seeing his historical work on the Haitian revolution resurface in Africa, decades after he wrote it;

"I could not help thinking that revolution moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform." From the introduction to *"The Black Jacobins"* by CLR James.

Perfidious Albion

The attitude of the British left to Ireland is revealing. Their attitude ranges from "hang the IRA"- Militant and Subversion, through to "uncritical support" - RCP etc. What none of the left *do* is engage in genuine dialogue with the republicans. Ireland is just another political football to score points with. Even those who profess to take a 'hard' line on Ireland, the uncritical brigade, do so only as a *device* - their reasoning is that if they can get a member to support the IRA, come what may then they can reasonably expect that member to fall in line behind the party on *any* issue, in other words Ireland is just another hurdle for members to jump on the way to becoming a cadre. Hence the existence of front organisations like the Irish Freedom Movement that do nothing for the Irish case but benefit the party, and are widely reviled as a result. But, we

must return to our rejection of Leninism.

While we believe the working class are the only social force capable of destroying capitalism and creating a better society we do not think they will do so because they are nice or noble - but because ultimately they have no choice.

It is with a similar attitude that we reject the Leninist strategy for revolution. Not because it is arrogant, elitist, hierarchical, mechanistic or dogmatic (which it is), but because it does not work in practice as history has so ably demonstrated. Each group that claims Lenin's mantle professes to be the one true faith. Whether this is the RCP, Analysis, SWP, AWG, Militant, or the Psadists who believe that UFO's will bring communism to earth....

We also fundamentally disagree with the notion that the working class can only achieve "trade union" consciousness and that "class consciousness" is going to come from the party. We also oppose the notion of the vanguard party and the idea of the party forming a socialist government as a transitional stage to achieving full communism.This socialist interregnum will always become permanent.

The Leninists,Class War and Analysis

These *are* strange times indeed, anarchists are standing in by-elections and Marxist-Leninists are trying to recruit anarchists,eg.

"Class War's internal crisis has led a number of members and ex-members to approach *Analysis*, some as groups others as individuals. As a result of discussions and correspondence we have developed our ideas about Class War. This document is offered for people who might be interested in our views...We wish to make it clear that we are not involved in Class War's present internal dispute in any shape or form,and that we would consider it improper to do so...". From *"The Passing Of An Old Warrior"* by **Analysis**.

It would really help if naive anarchists had to walk through charred doorframes and past piles of bones to talk to Leninists, just to remind them that they were walking into the dragons' lair...

We think it important to state clearly that Leninists are part of the enemy of the revolutionary working class movement and will have to be dealt with as such.To use a favourite analogy; if Leninism and its parties can be seen as bus travelling to the revolutionary terminus then we would say that some of its passengers are useful but the drivers, the bus and any remaining passengers are going to have to be destroyed before it gets to the revolution, otherwise the Leninists will destroy you...remember Kronstadt, the Spanish civil war, the Makhnovists etc.

It is an admission of your own political weakness if you see Leninists as having a superior insight or analysis or knowledge. This admission can be positive if you set about remedying the situation, but to suggest, as some do, that you can 'sub-contract out' theoretical and political work to these people is absolute crass stupidity. For one, it suggests that you don't know what you are doing and secondly it infers intellectual laziness and sloppiness that is all too characteristic of the anarchist milieu. It is high time the revolutionary movement took back what the Leninists have stolen.

[What probably did for the AWG and resulted in its absorption by *Analysis* was that despite its embrace of materialism it tended to use secondary sources of analysis, such as the RCP, which tended to dispose the unwary consumer to a Leninist outlook, and that they seemed to have retained a councilist ideology (ie. self management of capitalism) via "Socialism or Barbarism" etc. that has had so much influence on the anarchist scene - which came as a surprise to us].

But what is significant here is the response of Class War to the overtures of Analysis.This is based on our own impressions and divide into 3 rough categories:

a) A feeling of intellectual inadequacy - common amongst class-struggle anarchist when they come to be aware of the imposing edifice of Marxist thought;

b) Discomfort at the realisation that some of Analysis' observations may be correct.

c) Dismissal as window dressing for the same old Leninist dogma.

We have to admit that we lean toward option (c).

But first some comments on the *Analysis* group. Much of their magazine is well written and has a good grasp of materialism and its application to current society. This is as it should be considering that it comes from a group of people who have stated that theoretical work is going to be their only activity for the next 10 years.It is quite possible to agree with some of the articles in Analysis magazine without reaching the same conclusions ie. the need for a Leninist programme and a rather mechanistic view of society. You may, if you take the trouble, read some excellent articles in the *Financial Times, The Economist, Digest of Statistics by HMSO, The Wall Street Journal or the World Bank Annual Report* etc. This however does not mean that you have to agree with capitalism! Activists and Revolutionaries should be politically mature enough to appreciate any material for its usefulness in contributing to their understanding. Unfortunately many in the anarchist scene are not and it is common for those who support the notion of class struggle to collapse into a vulgar Marxism and Leninism when faced with rigorous debate.Whether this will be the fate of Class War we do not know.

There are some fundamental issues involved here that Class War has to address and decide upon. Are the working class incapable of anything beyond "Trade Union Consciousness"? Is a Vanguard party required to lead the working class and form an intermediate socialist government? Do the revolutionary

intellectuals and leaders of the vanguard have to come from the petit-bourgeoisie? Must "class consciousness" be brought *to* the working class from the *outside*? It is no wonder that *Analysis* really loves Lukacs. This is because Lukacs stresses (correctly) the need to regain a unity of consciousness in opposition to the fragmentation created by capitalist society. But, instead of concluding that the proletarians will recompose their world view into a unitary one by (and in the process of), their own revolutionary and subversive practice, he thought that consciousness must be re-unified and rediscovered **first** in order for subversion to happen. As this is impossible, he retreated into the idea that such a unitary consciousness must be *discovered* and made *concrete* and that the means of making it so is *the party.* In Lukacs you can also see a trend that has continued up to the present day in seeing the left intellectuals as the torch bearers and custodians of 'consciousness'. It is from this basis that Analysis argue;

"It is impossible to describe what is a viable strategy for revolution in Britain in just a few pages, particularly since we are in the process of developing it ourselves...There are a series of specific problems which we face today.

(a) The historic nonexistence of a revolutionary tradition, Marxist or otherwise, within the working class.... [!]

(b) Historic defeat of Stalinism and Third World radical regimes and by implication all revolutionary politics. [!]

(c) The Left and the best elements amongst the working class are now totally confused,demoralised and pessimistic, and this situation will worsen considerably over the next decade. [?]

Our only solution is to get on with the job with the meagre forces we have and proceed as follows:

A) **Create a potential leadership.** A team of around 15-20 people who can develop a comprehensive political analysis by gathering all those revolutionaries who can understand the dire situation we face...This may all sound very elitist,but we cannot think of another way to do it." From *"The Passing Of An Old Warrior"* by **Analysis**.

On the *contrary*, we think that if ever a dynamic, outward looking, propagandist organisation with decent politics could prosper it is **now.** By their own admission we are going to have to wait 10 or so years before *Analysis* come down from mount Olympus. Right now the working class are *hungry* for ideas, politics, information and analysis (no, not *Analysis*!) and are talking about politics in a way they have never done since the end of the war. Working class people watch the television news or read the newspapers and think "what is going on?". Sure, some of the working class are in a state of semi-comatose stupefaction but if you think this is some sort of historical accident you are naive. It is the intended result of a strategy of capitalism. Besides, have you taken a close look at the middle classes recently?Their stupefaction may be more articulate but is no less profound.The workers movements of the early 20th century had debating societies, libraries, corresponding societies to form communication networks, welfare clubs, newspapers and general educational groups.

We take the position that the working class have rejected Marxist-Leninism. The conscious elements of the working class know what they want, what they need to discover is who to fight and how to fight. These problems can only be resolved through dialogue with the working class and points to one of the useful roles that conscious revolutionaries might fill.

It is undoubtedly true that while large numbers of the working class are extremely angry about the situation the left are themselves in crisis. This is part of the turmoil and crisis that is afflicting the middle class as they themselves come under increasing attack from the ruling class. Hence the media is full of reports about "Britain in crisis" and the growth of the "underclass" and the "end of the working class". To our mind once you accept the bourgeois reification of the 'underclass' you are finished politically, because you are then following the agenda of the ruling class - divide and rule - which seeks to pitch the poorest sections of the working class against the rest, as in the USA. The other branch of this agenda is to replace the working class revolutionary project with a collection of single issue movements eg. blacks, women, gays, environmentalism etc. that are detached from the issue of class. These single issues are then subsumed into the capitalist project - look at environmentalism. This, of course, is aimed at fragmenting opposition, when what is needed is precisely the opposite. It is in these exercises that the function of the left within capitalism can clearly be discerned.

The problem of the left is that they do not *listen* to the working class, the notion of dialogue is alien to them. The question is are there any organisations or groups out there who are up to the job? The short answer is no, because of the problems the left has, Marxist or anarchist, as we have tried to demonstrate.

4

STRATEGY AND THE FUTURE

To use a couple of metaphors: if Class War is going to progress it is going to have to bite a few bullets and grasp a lot of nettles. From our perspective this means understanding that it has a lot in common with and owes much to revolutionary Marxism as well as anarchism. It means coming to terms with the fact that:-

- It is trying to be an organisation with specific aims and objectives and is not, and can never be, a

mass movement.

- That it cannot rely on sponteniast fantasies about the working class rebellion that nurture so much of anarchist thinking.

- That its *main* role as an organisation is to encourage the growth of politics, ideas and information in the working class.

- That as an organisation it cannot function without its members having a firm grasp of class politics.

The present imbalance of political development amongst members makes internal democracy wishful thinking. That a means must be found of making members come up to certain minimum standards politically and excluding those that don't.

That revolutionary politics cannot be attractive to the working class if it is just based on *hatred* whether of the police, the rich or the status-quo. At times we could be forgiven for thinking that Class War's political programme was simply for getting rid of the rich and the cops. The problem is not the rich or the cops but capitalism itself. The enemy is not the police but capitalism, who they serve. The working class are not fools. Nobody is going to fight and risk all just for hatred and spite - they want to know what the benefits are.

If Class War is going to play a useful part in re-making the working class movement, it must first remake itself.

The Negative

While the Bone/Scargill duopoly held sway the discussion of politics and theory were avoided to preserve unity in order for activities to proceed eg. Tim was an ardent Irish republican supporter while Ian would never discuss Ireland under any circumstances. What they have in common is *tactics*, more particularly the notion that the media response to activity was the only measure of political worth. The ruthless way that both these individuals pursued their objectives was made all the easier by the politically naive and young and trusting membership. Not surprisingly many of these people feel confused, abused and manipulated (correctly), the point is will these people use this experience to grow or will they degenerate into bourgeois cynicism - so common on the left with its superior "I've been there attitude".

We would guess that the Bone/Scargill splinter will break on underlying political differences as much as personal friction. But enough, there is no point in exploring further the rich seam of personal and political contradictions shared by this couple and their supporters. The primary lesson is that such individuals can only operate within a weak organisation, in this respect Class War has proved stronger than we thought.

Heroes

We all have favourite figures that we admire for their qualities, abilities and achievements. But in politics, as elsewhere, the conditioning we receive in society tends to make us elevate individuals to semi-mythic proportions. It is important to a look a little closer at this process. We would argue that people do this with political heroes for a number of *negative* reasons: that such achievements are the preserve of the 'few', that courage and insight are beyond most of us and, perhaps most naturally, we do not want to end up like most of our heroes - glorious but dead.

So, its time we took such historical figures down off the shelf, dusted them off and looked at them as real, ordinary people who made errors of judgment, were weak and just like us.

Zapata, when told he was regarded as a hero of the Mexican revolution said that the ordinary people were the real heroes because they got up every day just to struggle to survive, by comparison his life was easy (but short).

The Positive

The departure of Ian Bone and Tim Scargill signals that perhaps Class War is unwilling to just subsist on a diet of continual activism for its own sake and that people have come to realise that media orientated activities do not necessarily translate into any real effect on working class people, but instead can, and do, tend to be recuperated into the general 'spectacle' of capitalist society. Hopefully this means that anymore calls for "more commitment", "more trust", "chopping out dead wood" etc. are seen for what they are - an attempt to avoid the basic *political* problems facing the working class and Class War itself.

In many ways Class War and some of the rest of the left have been on the verge of formulating a viable politics and strategy for action for some time. The reason they have not done so is that this may lead to some uncomfortable conclusions such as:

- That some of the working class live in great ignorance,squalor and a state of stupefaction due to ceaseless barrage of propaganda and the absence of any better alternative.

- That the left has failed to reach the working class with its politics and has often served to strengthen the hold of Labourism and reactionary ideas in general on the class.

- That much of the political canon of the left, anarchists and Leninists alike, is wholly inadequate and much activity is put into recycling old dogmas into new packages such as the DAM, the RCP, Militant, the SWP etc.

- That many of the left have simply gone over to the capitalism lock stock and barrel.

● That any serious attempt to intervene in the capitalist/working class conflict could be unpleasant for those concerned and that the task is hard, difficult, dangerous and lengthy etc. That much of the work involved is routine, unglorious and hard.

So if we are on the verge of a revolutionary politics in both theory and practice what is it?

A lot of it is obvious. It involves talking directly to the working class itself and not following some vague moral direction or some mechanistic programme. It means treating the proletariat as the *subject* of your revolutionary endeavours and not as an *object*. This has all been done before in the era prior to the Russian revolution and the rise of the communist party and Leninism. The revolutionary clock has turned back to about 1910 and in many ways the working class is more backward now than it was then. Now we have to argue that the working class *exist* and that they have *any* history.

There is a need to do basic agitation work around issues of relevance to working class peoples daily experiences and concerns, to inform, analyse and spread information and propaganda as widely as possible in as diverse and effective means as possible. There is a desperate need to argue for the very existence of the working class, for identity, history and solidarity against the tide of capitalist society and culture. To actively assist in the formation of organisations within the working class that reflect local needs and social diversity. To promote the ideas of the revolution and encourage individuals and organisations of the working class to see themselves in a revolutionary perspective. In short to assist in the development of the working class becoming conscious of themselves as a class.

It is a huge task, not easy, not simple and inevitably messy at times. It is obvious that these things need to be done if the working class is even going to begin to challenge capitalism around the world. The long period when the international CP and its sub-sets dominated the world stage is over and we have to begin again.

Any organisation that wants to take on part of this task is going need as clear and coherent a set of political ideas as possible and is going to have to acquire the skills necessary to use those ideas, as are its individual members.The organisation will have to be able to deal with the everyday concerns of people which are diverse - disappearing health care and welfare, closing of old folks' home, poverty, racism, sexuality, sexism, food, fashion, music, drugs, crime, housing etc.etc. and make the connection to the wider politics of confronting the state, capitalism and class society and all in a way which is accessible to working class people. The problem is not that the working class are completely stupid, the problem is stupid politico's who cannot communicate and have the wrong message in the first place.

The organisation must be able to *vocalise* what the working class feel and know but are often prevented from expressing individually in a coherent manner. This role of *vocalising* the concerns of working class people is very, very important, because if done well gains access to and respect from sections of the working class and can start a kind of chain reaction.

The organisation must be able to understand the forces at play within society and the groupings, allegiances, strengths, weaknesses etc. within the working class, the middle class and the upper class and be able to connect this with the wider workings of capitalism. This aspect is vitally important because this knowledge is required to understand the battlefield upon which class conflict is waged, only from this knowledge can a viable political strategy be developed.

STRATEGY, noun. Generalship, the art of war. To impose upon the enemy the place and time and conditions for fighting preferred by oneself.

TACTICS, noun. The art of disposing military forces in actual contact with the enemy. A procedure calculated to gain some end.

The organisation must have a strategy for long term and short term objectives that may range from raising the self-awareness of the entire working class. To increasing the size of the organisation. To sell one extra paper. Tactics are what are used to achieve those objectives. It is our opinion that Class War has confused these two things believing that tactics=strategy.

The organisation must through its practice be: honourable, honest, coherent, consistent and have integrity in its dealings with the working class. This builds up respect and trust - which the left regularly shit on. To illustrate: Militant are good at mobilising in working class communities but help keep the rotting corpse of Labourism alive and side with the state hence their offer by Tommy Sheridan to grass-up the Poll Tax rioters. The SWP are famous for their 'flavour of the week' campaigns and changing party line. To be fair to them both they are just following their own strategies. Militant believe they can take over the state through the ballot box and Labourism is the tactic to do so. Strategy for the SWP means that they believe that they must agitate outside parliament and build a revolutionary party that can bring "class-consciousness" to the working class. To do this they need to recruit petit-bourgeois elements the tactic they use to get them and to keep them is to have lots of 'campaigns' to interest them and keep them busy. While this all appears consistent from *within* these organisations from the outside it appears as confusing and contradictory and worse helps keep alive various bourgeois illusions amongst the working class.

It is important to point out such organisations and individuals as the enemy, not in some insecure anarcho-screech but calmly and consistently from a position of knowledge and self-confidence.

Recognising that some of their members are fine people and unaware of the nature of 'their' organisation Bourgeois revolutionaries can come from the working class as well as the upper classes: Tommy Sheridan (Militant), Tony Cliff and Paul Foot (SWP), Frank Richard (RCP). What is important is not their class origins but their ideas and political programmes and the the importance of destroying the hold of such myths on the working class.

The organisation must as part of its war against capitalist culture target capital's main protagonist in this area, the middle class.This will involve trying to detach or at least destabilise *ideologically* as much of the intelligentsia as possible from the current capitalist ethos. This can be done by giving the 'human' caring arguments for ending capitalism, together with a thorough and clear analysis of capitalism and its society as possible. In other words the organisation must put its revolutionary project firmly on the capitalist agenda of ideas in a way that the communist party *once* did (remember all the upper class people that spied for Russia?). This needs to be done in order to disable or make inefficient as much of the 'middle management' of capitalism as possible. This is for practical purposes only and in no way suggests that the organisation should set about recruiting large amounts of middle class people (but neither should it be shy of letting them in on the right terms - they can be a valuable resource).

Defence

The organisation must have a clear idea of the need for self-defence and welfare at both an organisational and individual level - in the widest sense. Isolation can literally be fatal. Wide-spread support, passive and active, are vital foundations. Any group that actively courts an image of being violent and marginal like Class War has done in the past is easy pickings both for propaganda and physical attacks. This is a major mistake and we think is a result of some of the *psychological* problems that individuals have carried with them from the anarchist scene. The need to break bourgeois taboos and act the part of the *enfant terrible* of the left must be seen for what it is - infantile behaviour. It is important for the organisation to talk sense and get its message across at every opportunity. We know Class War has the ability and skills to do this from some of its past activities, yet it always seems to succeed in throwing success away. At bottom we think the problem is the lack of confidence to set your own agenda, it is safer to organise marches, ranting speeches and swear on TV than to embark on a political programme. If Class War is going to succeed in reaching a wider audience it is going to have to discard the posturing which it has used as a crutch until now.

Building up networks of contacts and supporters is vital. Participation in activities and campaigns etc. is done to further the aims of the organisation and not as charitable 'good works', this may seem a little hard but it is about making the best use of your available resources and not frittering them away. There is an absolute requirement that the organisation is seen to be involved in everyday events not just the big 'political' campaigns. In this manner activists can develop their political skills away from the spotlight and they and the organisation come to be seen as part of the local and national social landscape. Only from such a base of hard work can a political organisation thrive, do useful work and stand a chance of surviving a serious attack by the state.

Historically, the British state likes to have its opposition working above ground where it can see it and the left have not given it that great a cause for concern in recent years. These factors seem to encourage two distinct attitudes to self-defence. One is that followed by some of the left who see spies and conspiracy everywhere and like to be able to brag about having their phone tapped as some sort of revolutionary accolade. The other attitude is one of almost total unconcern about the activities of the the state and its servants a sort of blithe sense of untouchabilty. Class War has to date tended to the second of these attitudes. The simple fact is that the British state is like any other and can, and will, do whatever is required to protect its own interests, we would refer you to the study of events in Northern Ireland.

5
CONCLUSIONS

Remember what makes the working class who they are is a set of shared experiences that cannot be destroyed ie. the material conditions of our lives. *This* is the basis of self awareness and class consciousness amongst us - the work of political organisations and theoreticians can certainly assist but they cannot *replace* this experience with their ideas. As long as such activists build on this experience and are aware of its current form then their political work has the *possibility* of being useful .

Despite the power of the ruling class propaganda they cannot change the material conditions of our common experience, that give rise to our common interests, this is the basis of class consciousness - not some external theory. The theory rises from these material conditions (as antithesis) not vice-versa.

Following on from this it is essential for revolutionaries to understand the material conditions of the working class ie. their concerns, hopes, fears etc. If you can do this you can vocalise. In this connection it is important to be aware of changing demographic trends in the working class.

It may sound to some that we are proposing a Leninist organisation in all but name. Not so, we do not agree

that the working class are incapable of independent thought, we do not think that a vanguard will work, nor is it desirable, and we certainly do not think it is viable to take over the state. Briefly, we think it essential for the revolutionary movement to have as its aim the abolishment of capitalism and its commodity relations.

What we are proposing is an organisation that develops clear politics and acts on them and does not follow the paths already heavily rutted by the British anarchist and left organisations of the latter half of the 20th century. Class War itself represents the present condition of dissatisfaction *within* the left and as such is of its time - but can it progress beyond this? Towards:

- Clear thinking, a good grasp of class struggle politics and the condition of present day society and the ability to state your politics and strategy succinctly and clearly (which in itself would be a major achievement).

- Indicating how the revolution may proceed - because if you don't know why should the working class take any notice of you?

- Even more than this persuading large numbers of people of the benefits of such a revolution and exploring the form that such a revolutionary movement might take.

Making an organisation where membership and supportership are clearly defined, where activities are undertaken for clearly identified reasons and objectives. Where there is periodic self-evaluation of the organisations activities, that resources are devoted to "building the organisation" so members are not left to 'invent the political wheel' all over again but are nurtured as valuable human resources to learn political theory and skills. Where overseeing the welfare of the organisation and its members is recognised as an important function given that they are operating in a hostile environment. That the organisation tries to operate with integrity and openly admits it when it gets it wrong. That the organisation can debate with any of the left without feeling inferior or resorting to childish abuse.

NO GODS

NO MASTERS

AND PRECIOUS FEW HEROES!

DEFINITIONS (specialist terms are in bold)

Materialism. Means looking at society as being formed and influenced by the underlying (ie. the **Base**) productive forces at work in the economy. For instance the world of the middle-ages was dominated by the economic organisation of feudalism, while our own time is dominated by capitalism.

Historical Materialism. This is a way of understanding historical events as the result of the underlying economic forces. For example the first world war was mainly the result of rivalry between capitalists from various nation-states.

Superstructure. This term refers to the general culture (morals, ideas, fashions, politics etc.) of capitalist society that sits on top of the **base** rather like the way a building sits on its foundations.

Dialectics. This a method of posing one argument against another to test the truthfulness or accuracy of each. By doing this a position of greater truth or insight is achieved. Hegel, the German philosopher developed this method of examining ideas and real situations. The dialectical method starts with one idea or historical situation, this is called the "thesis". Against this thesis is put an opposing argument called the "antithesis". By pitting one against the other and following the course of the argument a position of greater knowledge and understanding is reached, this new position is called the "synthesis" which may combine elements of the two original ideas. The synthesis itself then becomes a new thesis and the process may be repeated. The main thing to pick up from this is that dialectics has a big emphasis on the *process* of argument and as such is very suited to the study of history as a way of testing out various explanations for historical events, (amongst other things).

NB. **Historical Materialism** is essentially a tool for understanding history. **Dialectics** is the method by which this tool is used.

Hegemony. As developed by the Italian Marxist Gramsci, refers to the dominant set of rules, behaviour, morals and ideas etc. in society that are perpetuated under capitalism.

Perfidious Albion. An old-fashioned term used in Ireland to describe the lying, treacherous and murdering nature of the English ruling class and their treatment of the Irish.

Reification. The process of making ideas or concepts exist in reality.

Weltanschauung. A German word used by Marx and others meaning "view of the world" ie. the outlook encouraged under capitalism.

T/SOR/49/1/5/8

national conference minutes '93

london

Saturday 19th June.

MORNING SESSION

PRESENT -about 35 people.

CHAIR-Tinker(London CW)

MINUTES-Norman(London CW)

1.OPENING SPEECH-Phil(London CW)
We have to look at beingpositive,forward looking-lets discuss politics & ideas rather than organisational matters.We should base our approach on 'A Childhoods end':being open,non dogmatic & taking from different sources.We should move away from mainly relating to the media & spectacular stunts.CW can go from the sublime to the ridiculous-you don't know whether to laugh or cry.

2.REPORTS FROM POSTHOLDERS.

i)National Secretary-Dave.
Things have run smoothly & well-thats this report.

ii)International Secretary-Paul.
Theres been very little change since the last reort in the IB.The mechanics are maintaining links & contacts with International groups,but we do need to liase alot more outside of this country.

iii)Merchandise-Dave & Dean.
If anyone is interested in taking on merchandise,please contact Dave & Dean.Things have been goin well,& they've been shifting alot of stuff. Stickers have gone well,we've nearly run out & are looking to print more.

iv)Membership Secretary-Darren.
78 members & 38 supporters.Planning to do another supporters bulletin after the next IB.

v)Education Secretary-Pete.
Three Ed.bulletins have gone out,but on the minus side there have been no dayschoolsor training.Also did the ' A Childhoods End' document.I want more contributions to the EB-this has been happening & its really good.

3.REPORTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES PRESENT.

Sweden declined the ofer to give a report.

Ireland CW-Joe.
The group was set up in January with about 10 people-about 5 remain. Planning to do a paper,& are preparing for a commemoration of 1913.

4.ELECTION OF NATIONAL POSTHOLDER.

Birmingham CW proposed Nette (Leeds CW) as National Secretary.
Voted & AGREED.

5.REPORTS FROM LOCAL GROUPS.

i).LONDON CW.
Done alot of papersales,doing abit of flyposting & stickers,not much else.

ii)EDINBURGH CW.
Same as report in last IB.2 members,but looking to branch outin Scotland eg.Falkirk.Do alot of national CW work.We were involved in the COnnolly commemoration march & the Timex strike in Dundee.We're planning to do abooklet about the struggle in Scotland.

iii)PLYMOUTH.
It's going well.8 members.We're making links with other anarchist groups in Exeter & Cornwall.We're getting back to basics,doing more papersales getting papers into newsagents & we're planning to do a local news sheet.

iv).BRISTOL CW.
Apologies from Alan P.Others will be here later.Things have dropped abit in Bristol,we're down to 6-8 people,partly dus to the recent turbulance. Alot of energy goes into the paper-we haven't done any papersales(although people talk about it).

v).BIRMINGHAM CW.
Done alot of flyposting,grafitti,stickering-done on a continual/individual basis.Planning to do our own posters.We're starting to do papersales again after a recent break.There's alot of interest regionally. We're very involved in the Burnsalls strike & the support of someone who was nicked during anti-BNP activity,& we're involved in anti-fascist stuff.Emphasis is on politics alot more in meetings,& we're trying to develop links with other groups.

vi).LEEDS CW.
About 8 members.We re ticking over.We ve done local posters (which got a good reception) & we've done 'The Yorkshire Pest'-a local agitational news sheet.

vii).LIVERPOOL CW.
1 member plus 2 supporters.We're going to start from scratch-acvertising the CW group.We've done a few papersales & we're also involved in the paper & AFA.

viii).SHEFFIELD CW.
3 members & 3 supporters.We have regular meetings & have done street stalls.We helped set up a Sheffield solidarity group,& we ve been involved in the Timex dispute.

ix).HERTFORDSHIRE CW.
2 members,but theres alot of interest.

x).NEWCASTLE CW.
(Written report)3 members.Selling 100 papers per copy.Plenty of supporters but not many of them are interested in national CW business.. so Tyneside Anarchist gp.was set up (which CW members are part of) with the aim of generating local activities & discussion.So far this has failed to produce much,apart from a self defence course which attracts 15-20 people each week.Had a stall at the Unity carnival in Newcastle, & in near future there is the Durham miners gala,& TAG will have a tall there.

HEAVY STUFF.
Following groups owe money:

DS4A	£17.00	Leeds	£20
AK Press	£58.50	Plymouth	£8
121	£9	Sheffield	£6
D.Douglas	£44	Craig(Brum)	£8
Dublin CW	&23	Mike(Notts)	£5

We cant afford to print HS6 until thes debts are paid.Bank balence stands at £249.73 plus £55.62 petty cash.HS spwcial copy has sold out,but copy 5 are still available.Issue 6 is coming on but we hardly have any

graphics.Could anyone help us out?
We have a subscriber from Spain who asks how can she get payment to us from Valencia-has anyone got a solution?
Still no volunteers to edit HS.-do we really need it?do we have sufficient resources/members for a paper & magazine.?
We feel it would be best for the Fed to concentrate on making the paper funny again-easier said than done.
It seems that the Fed has become too concerned about proving to the rest f the left that we do have some politics-ridicule & sattire have been replaced by long winded sensible articles which reads more like counter information.
If we want to increase sales we need people to want to buy the paper for a laugh.At thw Birmingham conference last May (92),Neil (London CW) produced a circular called the way we tell them-about how humorous articles can be implicitly political without having to be about blatently olitical issuesp
Arguing for a lively & entertaining paper does not mean we are arguing against developing our politics.Its also not meant as a criticism of anyones hard work,but just a reflection on the a way things are & what might be done about it.
(End of written report).

6.RATIFICATION OF NDC DECISIONS.
No major policy decisions so no need for ratification of conference.

7.MOTIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION.

Proposed that the constitution (as in latest IB) be accepted & ratified.JKevin (Edinburgh) wanted the words 'up to' (3.1.b) removed-it hould be a ststed time limit.Jamess felt that to become a member should not be a formality,but prospective members need to show their involvement & political understanding-this is more like 6 months.Pete(Plymouth) felt that groups should have leeway.
The constitution was put to the vote with the words 'UP TO' REMOVED.
CONSTITUION AGREED.

8.UNFINISHED BUSUNESS REPORT.

We owe uite alot of money (see IB 31) to various people.We need to get all groups that owe money to pay up as soon as possible.

(At this point,conference dedáded to discuss the paper & HS later...)

9.GENERAL DISCUSSION ON CWF STRATEGY & DIRECTION.

PAUL (leeds)
We need to be political-there have been a series of defeats & all we have had is a more radical than those position,as opposed to a more olitical approach.What are we aiming for apart from chasing around after various struggles?

JAMES (London)
Where is the class at the moment?What level of struggle is there?Where is CW ?We always try to be different from the Left.The main aim should e bréaking the most militant workers from Labourism-thers too much Tory this,Tory that.

TED (Bristol)
Mao said something like,the issue isnot the ferocity of the attack but the continuity.The reyolution isnt happening & CWF has got to realise this.The paper cheerleads (which is part of its style) but what about

organisationally.The question is-what is our long term srategy?What are we trying to do?What is the point of membership?
We are a propaganda organisation & the rest of our organisation exists as a mechanism for producing propaganda.We need a time scale & we need a sense of history-CWF invented itself out of the punk movement & has mutated every few years.There isn't going to be a revolution in 5 years.
We've got to get away from the attitude of 'one more big push' & realise that this is a long term struggle that isn't glamorous or glorious.
What's important is committment & stability of members.

FRANK (Essex)
You can't create struggle,you can'T make people fight-but you can encourage & support them.

THEV (Bristol)
Everything is so short term (beat up the old bill) & then so lon term (come the revolution)-Whats inbetween?Getting our ideas across,build a culture of resistance,encouraging people to take direct action,get stuck in.We need to examine our ideas on class & on community-what ways can our ideas be pushed across?How do we uplift & encourage people from the depression of every is fucked,theres no point.

PETE (Pymouth)
Our influence is very minimal.The uestion is class consciousness-how can it be raised?CWF isnot central to this,its about the working class' day-to-day experience under capitalism.We need to harness this,build hits & make it more political.We have got alot to learnfrom the working class.Strategy is a constant process needing continual reassessment.

SAM (London)
We should be telling people what to do.The level of consciousness is ow;we cant force people to do things that but we can make suggestions.
Thers nothing liberal than just writing about a strike-we have got to say what we think about how strikes & struggles can be won.And we need to remember that this society will be changed by the working class,not by people rushing around on papersales.Class wars face is predominantly young,white,male-political activism excludes many people (eg.with kids).
Its about everyday life.

PAUL (London)
Groups should have different strategies according to their own locality (eg.the influence of Labourism).

PAUL (Birmingham)
CWF hasn't much political credibility as well as much political history.
We need to remember that situations can change.CWF is primarily local groups but it is also a national organisation that puts out propaganda loeally.We need to be active in local communities-not in anti fascist groups,but tenants groups & local struggles.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Thers a difference between strategy & tactics.Our strategy is to spread revolutionary ideas-the idea that the working class can do things for themselves.To do this we need members,supporters to put across our ideas.
We also need propaganda by deed,propaganda by example-showing that we are trustworthy & credible.We need to push ideas of class pride,class unity class combativity.We've got to break away from the moralism of the 'feel good factor'-question whether something is worthg doing.We've got to get away from the cosy subculture of anarchist groupings.This is the reason for militants success in Scotland-they are involved with whats going on.

OLLIE (Bristol)
Our politics need to be convincing to working class people.There is a very low level of culture of resistance,especially when compared to the level of anti-social activity.Our CWF strategy should also be very linked to our resources.

CONOR (Dublin)
Drugs & anti-social activity undermine communities-yet Lefties will come in & tell what is the way forward.You have to be on the actual ground to be able to say we have the rightto control our lives & take the power.

PAUL (Leeds)
We do have a history & we do need politics if our propaganda is to be effective.It's less a question of being against Labourism & Bolshevism its more a question of being for communism.A lot of people know that this country is in terminal economic decline,but not many know why-unless we can understand our history,then we are going to feel helpless. We have to know how communism can work in reality.We do have a political tradition but it has been lost.

NETTE (Leeds)
Its not just CW meetings,its about everyday life,arguing ideas.When we are on our own it doesn't mean we're not arguing politically.

DAN (Bristol)
We need structure to get the best out of this discussion eg.the identity of CW & where our politics stand.

AFTERNOON SESSION. CHAIR TINKER. MINUTES

DAN (Bristol)
He proposed a structure for this sessions debate.He highlighted the fact that we need to address our politics & the way we conduct them. He proposed that the 2 main topics on the agenda ('culture of resistance' & CWF's strategy & direction')are pivotal;
ie. our politics & identity=CWF ⟶ culture of resistance⟶
strategy & direction ⟶debate on paper & HS.

There was no disagreement with this proposal for debate.

1.CWF-OUR IDENTITY,AIMS,TARGETS & HISTORY

JAMES (London)
We should take the lead & do what we believe as PART of our class.We should be the active part of our class.The working class is passive because it is controlled.We must take the struggles forward-show things can be done,& encourage participation.So far the working class has lost-we need class identity without providing a vanguardist/elitist blueprint of what the working class is.

PETE (Plymouth)
Its essential to tell the working class what we think,but we learn from the working class too-a dynamic.

TINKER (Chair intervening)
Dont lets carry on this mornings debate,we have an agreed agenda.

THEV (Bristol)
Our identity is as an agitational organisation.We want to 'stir things up' without being vanguardist.But we have to fight the ideology of leadership-mustn't be seen as a substitute for the Left (ie leaders).Neither can we just cheerlead-sometimes we have to state unpopular things within

our populist method,

KEVIN (EDinburgh)
We need our own identity,to gain confidence of our ideas & politics. We have to identify & acknowledge our history,which comes from a variety of processes.We shouldn't define ourselves as anarchist (we're more than that) but as a working class revolutionary organisation,drawing on different politics/actions/history.

TED (Bristol)
It is not adequate to define ourselves as just a' w/c revolutionary organisation'.Why do we do what we do ? The ruling class has already decided itno longer needs an educated & healthy workforce.In the last decade,our class is destroying the fabric of society (ie.joy riders, druggies,crims)-that is our class reacting against a society that offers nothing.Others retreat into cynicism.
Our job is to counter this by encouraging fightback,largely by propaganda-to do this we need to sort out our identity so that people know what we are (& so do we).

PAUL (Leeds)
We must go on from just a basic core of political ideology.Therefore we need to agree on libertarian communism NOT socialism as its a form of capitalism,or anarcho syndiacalism (capitalism managed by the workers).

PAUL (Brum)
We dont need to get bogged down in describing our politics,just to give it a name.But our identity is about being working class,being propagandst,ditect action,being a revolutioary,;beimg a community activist.

CONOR (DUblin)
I joined class war because i believe in us (the working class) being able to control our own lives,without being led by or apologising to anyone. with pride.We need working class unity to fight the system that stops us doing that.

FRANK (Essex)
We are here to encourage the working class to solve their problems for themselves.

JAMES (London)
As long as things are cohesive,i dont care what people call themselves as long as they're prepared to betterthèir/the working class'/humankinds lot,as well as being prepared for violence.

SAM (London)
Our self identity isn't a problem but how others see us-as fighting for working class interests,rather than being ultra violent anarchists.

NETTE (Leeds)
YES..or we'll forever be a white,male,straight,organisation.

PETE (Plymouth)
Be aware of what the media says we are.

TED (Bristol)
Our identity has changed,maybe more by accident than design.Having a paper full of violence ISN'T useful or attractive.The paper has become more positive as a result of the will to change our public face.
We should say to people 'take note',if you don't listen to what we're saying things will result in barbarism.

VAL (Brum)
Alot of what i'm haaring,i heard 2 years ago.

PAUL (London)
I think we're selling ourselves short on how much positive interest there is-ie.we can never expect a good press from the state media.

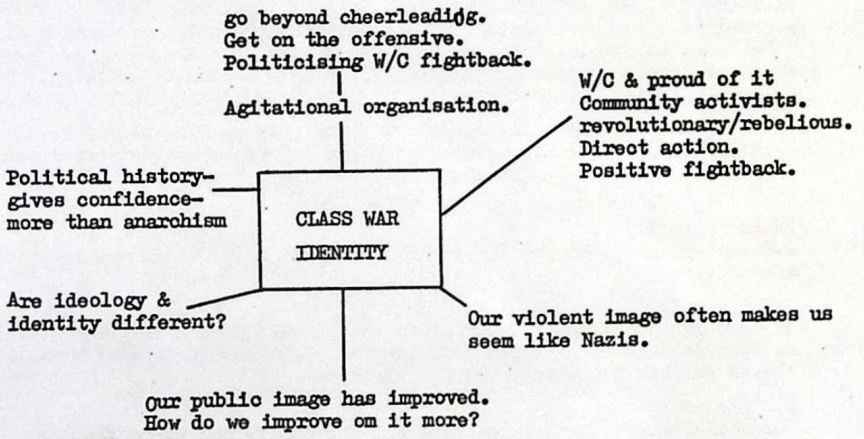
THEV (Bristol)
Violence is not a strategy,it's a tactic.But our public image is about violence.

OL (Bristol)
We have changed our identity,though not consciously;thats why we're here-we must push what we're FOR,not just against,especially in the current social/economic climate.

PAUL (Leeds)
We shouldretain humour but we have to go beyond praising resistance. We need to include politics & avoid wishful thinking..

IDENTITY RECAP

This was recorded by Pete on the rather attractive wall chart.



2. CULTURE OF RESISTANCE

THEV (Bristol)
Our ideas/politics are based on the idea of 'community',but what is community?We need to look atdifferent communities to see how & where fightback occurs & what the politics & social forces involved are. Our one big strenght is POPULISM but we need to use this much more,rathr than just cheerleading.

DAN (Bristol)
For centuries there has been a working class which has been shat on- So there are centuries of fightback.However,due to economic/social conditions,the working class is turning in on itself.We need to turn this around.We must identify the state of the culture of resistance& see hhw we can introduce revolutionary ideas into this.

SAM (London)
We see a steady gradual erosion of our rights ie.benefits,wages,NHS,etc Noone does much.To increase a revolutionary culture of resistance, we need to raise working class expectations,as they are so low.We need to challenge some seriously sluggish & reactionary working class mundanity (ie you 'flirt sexually',get a job,marry,kids,work & die.)We need to raise expectations/desires/conciousness.Class War should be seen as the organisation that wants the best for working class people.

PAUL (Leeds)
We all knew the pits would close,despite the struggle.From this we can see how peolpe were lead into dispute then despair.

JAMES (London)With no hope & despair in the working class they turn in on themselves.We need to take it further & be positive & .Perhaps he image of the 'black panthers' is a good model.

THEV(Bristol)Black politics have strong similarities to Class war; Pride, unity,strenght,autonomy,action.

PAUL (London)
Resistance building is relevant to the current situation ie.Timex 'shit wages or no work'.The resistance is ongoing but framented.

OLLIE (Bristol)
Culture of resistance is about intervention.

TED (Bristol)
We need to be nice.CW offers 'Viz' with a shotgun,unspecific ideas of future society.We need to talk about how life can be better after revolution,' a knuckle duster within a velvet glove.'This si is what we need to be.

ALEX (NON MEMBER,LONDON)
Class war has a restrictive view of the working class,it excludes many elements of the WC.

VAL (Brum)
Everyone can understand the politics of CW.

PAUL (Leeds)
The culture of rsistance is international as capitalism is international.

JAMES (London)
Youths have most to gain from revolution.

TED (Bristol)
Lets talk about this in the pub James.

THEV (Bristol)
Culture of resistance needs to be international.This is a difficult but unimportant point.Labourism will collapse & fascism will rise up,fascism is an element of W/C culture of resistance.

RUSS (Brum)
Routine & negative elements ie.fightback versus Anti-social crime.We need to politicise the pculture of resistance fight back.We can tap into the fear of anti social crime for political ends.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Culture of resistance has many aspects,& the positive elements may exist in smaller pockets than tha negative elements.Cultural resistance needs to be moved to political resistance.

SAM (London)
Many community based ersistance does not have a political identity.

PROPOSAL Bii)

STRATEGY & REBUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

SAM (London)
There is a history of community politics that has identified with the Labour Party.Funds from local authorities have dissipated this momentum. Now there is no political identity for the community to struggle against. We need to get involved.

PAUL (Brum)
Local activity is local to you.The key is to get involved in local ideas & groups.

JAMES (London)
We should get out to other political organisations & sell papers,etc. I have respect for them.

PETE (PLymouth)
The other Left isn't revolutionary.We need to ideologically destabilise them.We need to destroy their ideas.

CHRIS (Redditch)
We have opportunities to show the Left for what they are.Yes talk to them but dont focus on them.

THEV (Bristol)
The Left is our ideological enemy,they want authrity & we want libertarianism.

CONOR (Ireland)
Revolutionary movement should be on the ground.Break out of sectarianism 'Go where people are at'.

TED (Bristol)
We cant be all things to all peolpe.It is easy to fill the paper with 'evils' of capitalism & wrongs.Some ideas aren't relevant to our readers & CW is able to talk about politics that relate to UK working class.

PAUL (Leeds)
We do need direct links to community groups but not as a theoretical base.This helps to spread our politics.To distinguish themselves (the left) from others they use hidden agendas.Class war is full of W/C white males.

END OF SATURDAY.....

Sunday 20th June.

CHAIR

MINUTES.Pete (Plymouth)

1.DEBATE ON THE FUTURE OF THE PAPER & HEAVY STUFF

TED (Bristol)
This discussion has already taken place in Edinburgh at the Paper Delegates meeting,June 5th & 6th.

OL (Bristol)
Has everyone seen the minutes?

TED (Bristol)
Bristol wanted to spread the workload to other groups,SO;
-more gps have taken on pages & 3 more Macs will be bought.
-The style of the paper will be more coherent
-more papers could be sold through newsagents.
-cover price upto 50p to cover extra cut taken by newsagents.

NORMAN (London)
PROPOSE that London take on the production of HS.
Does anyone have anything to say on the paper?

GORDON (Plymouth)
The covers often alienate people from us.'Rob the Rich' cover gives the impression of us as looters.Anarchy.

JAMES (London)
Why worry about alienating some people.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
The recant improvements are good.It needs to be more accessible.We need to attract more people.Papersales are falling off.The Republican News gives us alot to learn from.

CAROL (Liverpool)
'Rob the Rich' cover was easy to sell.Malcolm x was more difficult.

PHIL (London)
Attended the anarchist summerschool in Glasgow.Glasgow members are pissed off with the English bias.Shall we produce an issue especially for them?

THEV (Bristol)
Paper needs to be more investigative journalism-more information & facts Each group needs to know how to do this.

JAMES (London)
The paper is an easy sell-treat it as part of our wider propaganda. Articles should be serious or funny,not ½ way.'Rob the Rich' was the best cover for ages-a classic.Street cred is back.Malcolm X was opportunistic & lefty.

TED (Bristol)
The content is now upto the local group so good ideas can get in there. We cant be all things to all pepple.You can satisfy the anarchist scene or be populist to politicise people.We're not vanguardist.We wnt a generalised rebellion so we must politicise people.The paper is a taster. Readers are directed to the Heavy Stuff.We've been lazy sorting out our politics in HS.

SAM (London)
If there are more groups producing the paper,then some articles could be duplicated.Guidelines should be set out for page makers.

PAUL (Leeds)
Agree that better journalism is needed.Should include more international articles.The page structure was chaotic in no.59.

OLLIE (Bristol)
We should talk about the future-not the details of the paper.'Deadline News' is sent to all involved.We should be broadening our approach & attracting different people.

RUSS (Brum)
Paper content should come from the groups,not Bristol.

PHIL (London)
It always needs a letters page.Anarchy (USA) prints every letter.We should use the letters page as a debating platform.

PETE (Plymouth)
People from different backgrounds need to write articles to make the paper more relevant.

MAGGIE
Agrees the letters page should be used.Interviews ae useful to vocalise politics of different people.We hsould get in touch with more Black groups.It's true that women in the FED should write more stuff.

OLLIE (Bristol)
Has been discussing the paper with long term supporters.They think we are not ground breaking enough.We should cover domestic violence,sexual abuse & very violent racism.

FRANK (Essex)
We should criticise & give a positive alternative.

JAMES (London)
We might become sectional & Rainbow alliance.
Thinks theres hardly any violence in the paper he wants lots more.

PETE (Plymouth)
We must sort out our politics out before giving alternatives.

DAN (Bristol)
There are not enough resources for the Scottish issue.We must discuss the papers ROLE.Articles must include more pratical alternatives.We should bring politics to everyday life.

NORMAN (London)
I'm happy with the recent changes in the paper.Worried we'll lose our edge & get too Lefty.

OLLIE (Bristol)
The paper is getting dry because there is less humour coming in from people.We should feel confident to comment on every thing relevant to our class.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
We should cut the crap in articles & get to the point.What's lacking isskills to write better articles.More Macs won'T mean better articles.
7 out of 10 letters are from seriously disturbed people.

TED (Bristol)
Macs are being raised to get the workload off Bristol.Writing skills come with experience.The paper is why we do what we do.We must do more paperselling.

DEBATE ON THE HEAVY STUFF

NORMAN (London)
Will London get the Heavy Stuff?

SAM (London)
Before that decision is made I want to know if;
1.We will be free to commission articles
2.We will be free to nick & canibalise articles.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
The role of HS.is unclear.It needs defining.Who is it aimed at?

THEV (Bristol)
The editorial policy has been vague.A policy needs laying down.The paper delegate structure should be used for HS.

JAMES (London)
HS is not only bought by Lefties.The paper & the HS.should be clearly defined.

PAUL (Leeds)
Articles need to explain the current economic crisis clearly.

PAUL (London)
We do need a vehicle for pure politics.I've seen IB articles that should have been in the HS.

RUSS (Brum)
A theme for each issue of HS would be a good idea.An editorial group could decide the theme & commission the articles.

TED (Bristol)
Experience has shown that articles dont get written.Atheoretical journal is hard to write for.I want a more magazine format-it would make it more accessible.

JAMES (London)
I'm against a magazine format-shying away from debate with the Left.
HS would end up as a glossy version of the paper.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
We need a magazine with analysis.We need to look at our market.Will it be aimed at Lefties or the public?We need to look at the format & distribution.We must avoid dropping the paper & becoming like 'Living Marxism'

RUSS (Brum)
I agree with a magazine format.I dont think we have to debate with the Left.

JAMES (London)
We should give concrete examples of what we should base HS on.'Analysis' magazine is very good style wise.I dont want long debates with the Left.

THEV (Bristol)
We should appeal to the working class rebels NOT Lefties.

TED (Bristol)
'ANalysis'is dry & boring.HS as a theoretical journal has failed.HS should be aimed at everyone.

CONOR (Dublin)
You can talk to the Left until you're blue in the face.We should go to the class,reach out to them.

CHANGING THE NAME OF THE HEAVY STUFF DEBATE.

1.Front line
2.Fight the Power
3.Animals
4.By any means
5.In your Face
6.A touch of Class
7.Cutting Edge
8.Brainstorm
9.Uprising
10.Alarm
11.Our day will come
12.Propaganda
13.Censorship

Ideas to be put in the next IB
Decision to be taken at next NDC.

PROPOSAL Biii

BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

PAUL (Leeds)
We must develop an International class perspective.It must be done abit at a time.Interested people should contribute & make international contacts

MIKE (London non member)
Make links with the IWA-they have links all over the world.

FRANK (Essex)
We should forget International stuff whilst we're thin on the ground.

JAMES (London)
Bollocks to the IWA.He thinks that the 'internationals' that exist are merely a pen pal network.The Ruling class organise in an international level so should we.

PAUL (Leeds)
We do have links with the IWA & IFA.We should find out foreign situations.

THEV (Bristol)
Each local group should adopt a country /region & research it.What libertarian communists exist,the economic situation,etc.

OLLIE (Bristol)
Thers only 70 of us.But we have a contact list from the Int.conference. We also have the modum to link into the Euro.Counter.network.Our resources should be used.

TED (Bristol)
We should adapt a principle of 'Whats in it for us'.Lets stay on planet earth,give Paul a budget & see what he does with it.

MAGGIE
I became a supporter after the Int.Conference because different groups listened to each other.

SAM (London)
We should aim to set up a CW Internationa1.It should always be in our minds.

KAREN (Brum)
I've seen how international support works & firmly support it.

PAUL (Leeds)
We need to be realistic & build the Fed here as well.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Because Britain has an Imperial history,the British Left has an arrogant attitude to foreign countries.We have remained isolated.Theres plenty of free holidays too.

PAUL (London)
The Channel tunnel means London will be closer to Paris than newcastle.

RUSS (Brum)
We could influence othre political movements as well as learning.

THEV (Bristol)
The Int.conference wasn't international,just European.Ignoring the ' 'third world ' & ethnic people in this country.

MAGGIE
THeres so much to learn from how other people organise.

ALEX (nonmember London)
We could go into INFO shops & affect the International political movement.Eg.Equador.Native movements are open to Libertarian communism.

JAMES (London)
Alot of 'pie in the sky 'being talked-whats the point of talking to African goat herders?

TED (Bristol)
We must get back to reality.We must kick ourselves up the arse first.

THEV (Bristol)
Alot of people in this country have internationalism because of their ethnic background.

PAUL (Leeds)
We are part of a global system evem though there are differences.

ALEX (London)
I want a whole new world not just Britain.Strength comes from examples from around the world,& learning from them.

NEIL (HERTS)
We can build up links slowly.Theres no rush.

MAGGIE
We must remember 'divide & rule' & properly understand how important this is.

NORMAN (London)
We should develop lcally & internationally as well.Basic work at home is vital.

MIKE (London)
Links can & should be made.

DAN (Bristol)
What will we gain from links?What can we learn?

PAUL (London)
Many Black people care about home issues but also many are interested in American issues.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Paul should have more money.

CONOR (Dublin)
Few Left wing groups attacked the Columbus 500 celebrations.

PAUL (Brum)
I'm worried by whats been said.I'M disgusted at the lack of respect for International issues.We should have some regard for their issues as wellas ours.

AFTENOON SESSION

CHAIR DAN & OL (Bristol)

MINUTES BRIAN (Leeds)

VAL (Brum)
I suggest at the next conference the host do their own food.It makes it cheaper,& helps the conference break even.

DAN Chair)
Some proposals will not fit in this afternoon.

THEV (Bristol)
I propose North Ireland,anti social crime,& the economic situation are priorities.

TED (Bristol)
This was agreed at NDC.Point of order.

NORTHERN IRELAND

PHIL (London)
I proposed proposal (C) 3.Class Wars position has always been that we CAN agree to differ.We need to bear that in mind.Even so,N.Ireland is a judge of the seriousness of our politics.

PAUL (Leeds)
-reiterates his stuff in Eb.Capitalism divides the working class into states & nations.But we have to oppose Nationalist anti-imperialism with revolutionary politics.
Irish politics effect the Scottish W/C & divide English W/C from Irish W/C.We have to be against partition & also oppose calls for a united Ireland that is SEPARATE from Britain. (large Irish descent W/C in Britain)

THEV (Bristol)
Loyalism & Ireland are fundamental to British patriotism.Also the war allows the British state to appear like liberal peace keeping force. Troops out is fundamental.Our support of the Republican movement should always be critical-it doesn't have class war politics.-but we should support the fightback.We can criticise their tactics & lack of class analysis-bombs in working class areas...

CONOR (Dublin)
We must reject the pan-nationalism of Sinn Fein/SDLP.But the IRA is not the main problem.ALso class politics are critical in the North-difference between protestant/Loyalist.
Sinn Fein in the South are fucked.5 years ago they were involved in fighting anti-social crime-now they're hanging onto the coat tails of Finna Fau.Also they have crap politics on womens rights to choose abortion-S.F.NOT got class politics.Need to oppose the power of the church.

FRANK (Essex)
IRA are future model for Class war.They are fighting to defend W/C communities.

MARK (Supporter)
Republican movement has reached a dead end.Ireland was divided to crush a revolution.Nationalism arose on both sides of the border to carry on that counter-revolution.Troops out goes without saying.Smashing the popular movement in the late 1960s was adeliberate strategy to force the Republicans into guerilla warfare.Experience of Italy where the state 'helped' Red Brigades.Republican movement has given up on the British working class.

JAMES (London)
IRA is not a small elite.But they couldn't survive without wider support. They have a working class social base.Alot of the Left are dishonest-say one thing but secretly believe another.CW should be upfront.National self determinism is valid & legitimate,but not a solution.Religeon is a major enemy-not just the state but the catholic church.

SAM (Lomdon)
Danger of romanticising the IRA.I dont want CW to be in the situation that the IRA is in.We have to separate strategy & tactics.Some SF members want IRISH capitalism.South of the border is the key to Irish politics-its all class based.Troops out has to be our bottom line,but we have to keep class analysis.A lot of republicans have class politics.

DAN (Chair)
We seem quite clear on history,how sectarianism was created.So what can we learn.

PETE (Plymouth)
Troops out of Ireland-yes,but we dont want them back here.Domino effect-if Ireland goes,then its Scotland,Wales,Yorkshire,etc.

PAUL (Leeds)
Ireland is a good example that within a struggle there are bourgeoise nationalists & revolutionaries.This can be applied to other movements around the world-we must avoid 'pure' position.

MIKE (Supporter)
We can & must criticise IRA strategy.THey seem to want the war to come home to the British W/C,which is the wrong target.

THEV (Bristol)
Troops out but what next?A 'free' independent capitalist Ireland would give Irish W/C space to organise-same s as in Palestine,etc.The choice isn't 'revolution or nothing'Lessons about how revolutionary situation is contained.

TINKER (London)
How can our bottom line be troops out?We are libertarians revolutionaries. Our bottmnline is a free world.We only say troops out because we think it can be achieved.We have to be clear about WHY troops out,why it's a step forward.

DAN (Chair)
Getting troops out opens it up to a class based struggle.

CONOR (Dublin)
Troops out but with a class analysis.SF is shifting rightwards.In 1980s

early on they had better class politics.Ruling class is the enemy-whats needed is class alliance with protestants in the North.Because the Republican movement has copped out of this,its trapped in a dead end-Adams now wants UN.intervention.

NORMAN (London)
alot of lessons-the role of the state is clear.'Bloody Sunday' critical -a mass movement on the streets was deliberately smashed.The state is ruthless-we must not forget this.Bombs in London are putting pressure on British bosses-there is a chance they 'll cobble some deal to pull British troops out & replace with something else.Disagree with the right to national self determination-who is this nation?

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Troops might come out but so what?Republican movement is isolated from other W/C.We must avoid politics of 'last atrocity',just discussing latest IRA UVF /state action.British W/C is a manufactured identity, created by state.Idea of 'Britishness' is a division that CW must attack.

RUSS (Brum)
Discussion is well overdue.It's a dangerous idea to say troops out first, then class poitics.What if Republican movement fails?Some have said that Irish CW is a distraction from 'real issue' which is dangerous.Class politics has to come in now.

PAUL (Leeds)
Kevim is saying there isn't a British W/C-just a Scottish / English,etc. This is just nationalism once again.Many people have English & welsh backgrounds,etc.Unionism is a division of W/C into English/Irish,etc. State might well pull out & replace with beefed up UDR.Partition is the reason why we want troops out.

MARK (supporter)
Purism is dangerous.But so is natuionalism-its a way of controlling W/C struggle.Nationalist/Catholic community dont control the republican movement,anymore than the English W/C control the Labour Party.Lesson of the ANC-how something that once looked radical is totally counter revolutionary.

JAMES (London)
Disagreement with Kevin.zIn Ireland the British state divides Irish W/C from the English W/C.In Scotland,Scottish nationalists divide Scottish W/C from N English W/C.

SAM (London)
Our final objective is world communism.In the meantime we have to look at tactics.Class politics are already being injected into the Republican movement.Ireland needs 30,000 troops-If Uk was insurgent,th state could not cope.Our strategy has to be trouble here.CW has to break the link of W/C & the state.Ireland is a struggle we can use to break down their identifiaation with the state.

DAN (Chair)
Its clear that we want troops out & that we criticise the republican movement.

TINKER (London)
So what can we do here?After things ;like Warrington,how do we counter the media barrage?How do we bring home war home?Scottish comrades seem to have a different perspective.

MAGGIE
Contradiction isn't a problem.There are differences within our class identity.Nationalism arises when cultural identity is repressed-experience of the break up of the Soviet Union.zThe only way to guard against this is to accept those differences (otherwise they'll become divisions.

PETE (Plymouth)
Propaganda.A statement to 'Republican News'?Irish CW need our full support & repect.

THEV (Bristol)
Need to counter state propaganda with our own populist propaganda..Part of culture of resistance.Feeling of slidarity.Same discussions are duplicated on local level-need to be broken down.We are anti-imperialists not republicans.

PAUL (Leeds)
Alot of W/C people join the British army.There is anti police culture within W/C,need to create anti army culture.

FRANK (Essex)
I was in the army-I didnt join because I was a scab but because of poverty.

DAN (Chair)
Seems to be general level of agreement.Do we draw it up as policy?Can we produce something in next CW saying why troops out?

TED (Bristol)
This is an educatuional debate.WE're not here to produce a Party line.

TINKER (London)
Agrees.What was in last CW was more than adequate.It's not about creating a line.

THEV (Bristol)
Not a line but an attitude.Cant skirt around the issue.People do ask us what we think about the IRA,etc.

PETE (Plymouth)
We've got a line.Cant dodge the issue.Need to have courage of our convictions.

TED (Bristol)
We're not shying away from it.Future CW propaganda will take todays opinions on board.

PAUL (Brum)
Alot of divisions/differences within republican movement-not having a set line on Ireland is a strength,not a weakness.Can cover Ireland descriptively,not just analytically-producing counter information.

KEVIE (Edinburgh)
There is general agreement.We all agree that articles on Ireland in CW should include politics of troops out,etc.

DAN (Chair)
Agreed.The idea of a line was misunderstood.

TINKER (London)
Disagrees with Pete.Can't condense complexity of politics into patty lines.

PETE (Plymouth)
The idea of a line is confusing.Alot of writing in 'Unfinished Business' about Ireland is flawed,out dated.Needs modernising.

JAMES (London)
Paper group should feel free to include results of this debate.

END OF DISCUSSION

ABIT OF BUSINESS

A Nottingh&m & Derby group has recently been set up & needs ratifying

CHRIS (Nottingham)
Me & Sven (derby) are active in E.Midlands.We need a formal CW group not just a looses structure.There is alot of suppor & potential.Althoug h Sven is in Derby,we would both be in Nottingham CW.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

(NB.there current PO box is now defunct.)

PROPOSAL

THat we stick to the agenda (rather than start Franks proposals.)

CARRIED.

PROPOSAL C1 ANTISOCIAL CRIME

NORMAn (London)
The proposal says it all.We need a full discussion,maybe within the IB/EB.Tour idea is propbably too much work.

THEV (Bristol)
The tour is a diversion from the real work.We need committment from local groups cos this is serious stuff.Noone on the Left is touching it.Real potential,but real risks.Its down to local groups to know their towns & their communities.

RUSS (Brum)
Enormously complex.Self education & research are vital before we start on public meetings.

PAUL (Leeds)
The last issue of CW,the article on crime had a piece on vigilantes omitted which needs to be read-in next IB?Or next CW?

SAM (London)
A good way for us to coordinate activity in local groups on a national scale.We dont need a speaking tour,but it could be an on going national campaign.Antisocial crime is wide ranging.

ANDY (London)
Crucial issue.Basics of politics at grass roots level-rebuilding the community.Debate should also go on in HS as well as IB.

CONOR (Dublin)
The heroin situation has got worse in Dublin,but now no fightback after CPAD attacked by the State in 1983.Open & democratic activity is ess-ential-NOT elite gang of vigilantes.

DAN (Bristol)
We should forget a tour.What makes antisocial crime?Need to debate it, but cant afford to miss the boat on th is.W/C communities are in crisis The Class is turning in on itself.What concern there is is going through the wrong channels....cops,Neighbourhood Watch,etc.We need to share practical ideas.

OL (Bristol)
Does need more discussion.Eg.the issue of drugs.Very complex.

MIKE (Supporter)
DO IT.People will respect CW for it.Can be risky & needs some thought, but we need to act.What will the State do?Cops will come down on it very hard.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Every local group needs meetings,but part of a national campaign— dates can all go in the paper.One poste with date space left blank.At meetings need to address 'What is crime?'Not vigilante stuff,need class analysis.Should AVOID media attention.Discuss the police.A national, structured campaign advertised in CW.

TREV (London)
We're talking dual powe .Crucial,long term strategy where WC contrál our own areas.

THEV)Bristol)
Should encourage monitoring of cops through CW,at same time as we attack antisocial crime;must avoid leaving people in any doubt about cops.

RUSS(Brum)
Need localised posters-different antisocial crime in different areas. We should not rush this & repeat the mistakes of the past.The problem is too complex.

PAUL (Leeds)
Agree with Russ.Antisocial crime isn't going to go away.Even if we discuss it for 6 months,that'd be better than diving in head first.Need to guard against illusinn in criminals-'some non antisocial criminals' are still bastards.

TINKER (London)
Agree we need more time.We dont want to start a campaign& then end it. Its an on going process.

JAMES (London)
We learn through practice.We cant get a perfect formula.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Agree with James.We're not after a perfect line,just start public meet-ings around crime-where its not a matter of CW handing out the answers.

TED (Bristol)
Suggest local groups who are ready should go ahead & do it & the rest of the Fed can learn from it before a national campaign.

NORMAN (London)
I withdraw the proposal.Suggest it goes back to local groups & organised through NDC.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Cant be a national campaign if some groups aren't into it.

AGREED IT GOES TO NDC.

AGREED TO MOVE TO 'DISRUPTION OF HENLEY REGATTA,1994.'PROPOSAL.

FRANK (Essex)
A good morale booster.Cant beat kicking in some rich bastards.

PHIL (London)
Totally against the re-run of Henley.It was brilliant then,but the cops are wise now.We wont get near any rich bastards.Alot of W/C people were at Henley...we cant do things twice.

THEV (Bristol)
Bath experience-people getting nicked.A good idea to attack the rich, but it wont work wihout local antagonism.

MOTION DEFEATED (1 for)

ESSEX 'UPRISIN' SUMMER SPEAKING TOUR PROPOSAL.

FRANK (Essex)
Needs logistical support of the Fed,& rise of the name Federation.

RUSS (Brum)
No problem,as long as Essex are doing it.Not the right time to return to big stunt politics.

TED (Bristol)
This is a matter for London & Essex.

ALL AGREED.

MASS RAVE PARTY *1994 proposal.

THEV (Bristol)
Not a viable thing.Non political raves get busted & trashed all the time. A CW rave wouldn't last.A fund raising gig would be a better idea.

TED (Bristol)
Respect due to frank.Maybe 2 or 3 nights of big gig in London-decide now & then organise via NDC.

TED'S SUGGESTION AGREED (1 Against).

NATIONAL'NO?GO ZONE' CAMPAIGN PROPOSAL

FRANK (Essex)
Part of our politics-propaganda,

THEV (Bristol)
WE cant create 'no-go zones'.Its not upto CW.

RUSS (Brum)
We have to be realistic.Its nowhere near nn the cards.The antisocial crime initiative is a first step towards 'no-go zones' but a long way off.

PAUL (Leeds)
No-go zones dont go far enough.

PHIL (London)
Autonomist idea in Italy about taking back space-but its a culture thats taken years to develop.

OL (Bristol)
Not sure about what the proposal means.CWF is an on-going no-go zone campaign,among other things.

FRANK (ESSEX)
A pure propaganda campaign over limited time stressing positive side of no-go zones.

KEVIN (Edinburgh)
Still premature,even if its just words on a sticker.

ALEX (Supporter)
Ties in with antisocial crime,but a long way off.If CWF wants more discussion about antisocial crime,how can it start a no-go zone campaign.?

FRANK (Essex)
Produce & circulate propaganda around no-go zones.

MOTION DEFEATED (1 FOR)

ANY OTHER BUSINESS

A NOTE FROM DUBLIN

Dublin CW will soon be getting a once a week (2 hour) radio show ,so if anybody has any UNUSUAL political stuff (Miners support & compilations etc.) could they get in touch.

MIKE (Supporter)
Respect due to Class War.Keep up the struggle.

CLOSING SPEECH

SAM (London)
A basis for going forward politically.Theres more confidence in the FED. Its exciting.

THANKS TO LONDON CLASS WAR FOR ARRANGING THE CONFERENCE.NICE ONE.

Summer ' 93 Conference Agenda

Saturday 19th June.

MORNING SESSION

- OPENING SPEECH
- REPORTS FROM NATIONAL POSTHOLDERS
- ELECTION OF NATIONAL POSTHOLDERS
- REPORTS FROM ALL LOCAL GROUPS (EXCEPTING NEW GROUPS)
- RATIFICATION OF NDC DECISIONS SINCE LAST CONFERENCE
- MOTIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION AND AIMS & PRINCIPLES

1). Amended constitution to be ratified

AFTERNOON SESSION

- OTHER MOTIONS.

i) **Debate on the future of the paper and the Heavy Stuff**

ii) **General discussion on CWF strategy and direction. To include proposals B I) & II)**

Proposal BI)

Building a culture of resistance within our class.
what is it, how can we assist to further the aims of revolutionary politics.

Proposed: Thev - Bristol.
Seconded: Dan - Bristol.

Proposal BII)

General discussion on CWF strategy and direction. To include proposals B I) & II)
Rebuilding a revolutionary movement
basically our ideas and strategies to turn resistance to revolution; what a movement will need; the organisation of such a movement, etc.

Proposed: Thev - Bristol.
Seconded: Dan - Bristol.

This discussion to last until the end of the day

iii) **Proposal BIII) 'Building an International movement'**

how we can effectively become 'INTERNATIONALIST'

Proposed: Thev - Bristol.
Seconded: Dan - Bristol.

Sunday 20th June.

MORNING SESSION

- OTHER MOTIONS CONTINUED

iii) **Proposal B I) ' Building an International movement'**

iv) **Antisocial crime**

See attached proposal (c) 1

proposal c1 antisocial Crime:

This is a major aspect of working class life in this country. No-one wants to be mugged, burgled, assaulted. This has helped to further undermine an already greatly weakened sense of working class community. In many working class areas there is an atmosphere of fear. If we are to be serious about preparing for revolution, then we have to discuss antisocial crime in the here and now - what are its causes, how it is used by the state to split communities, what can be done about it, what are the lessons from vigilante groups, etc. There has already been coverage of antisocial crime in the paper but I propose that Class War seeks to organise a tour along the lines of the Summer of Discontent about this . This could "ve tied in to a national poster for flyposting and stickers and so an attempt to get media coverage. If this conference agrees to this (and it is important that people are realistic about this proposal and don't just support it because 'it's a good idea" - If it is going to work, then it will need a lot of work from everyone here), them a group of say three people is set up to co-ordinate the tour/the publicity/the media/ the speakers and the local groups themselves get local venues.

Proposed
Norman- London.

AFTERNOON SESSION

v) **The current economic situation**

proposal (c) 2

Class War needs to discuss the current economic situation and what its potential impact on the working class is going to be; for example, is the recession going to continue, will Japan enter into deeper recession, what is happening with the European superstate, will there be a world war in the next 10 years, etc.? We need to know what is going on in order to respond more effectively and efficiently. We need to be looking ahead so that we can prepare now for what is going to possibly happen. ideas about this should be put forward in the next issue of the IB.

Proposed
Sam - London.

vi) **Northern Ireland**

proposal (c)3

In August 1969 a Labour government sent British army units onto the streets of Belfast and Derry. Today there are still 30,00 troops, paramilitary police, SAS and local auxiliaries in the six counties that make up ' northern Ireland' - together, they patrol an area about the size of Yorkshire with a population less than that of Birmingham. What has happened in the north of Ireland? What can we learn from the events there (as the state has learned e.g. crowd control)? What should our position be (if we even need to have a 'position')? Should we openly criticise the IRA's current strategy? What are the links between the struggle in northern Ireland and here? What is happening in the rest of Ireland?

Proposed
Phil - London.

vii) **Disruption of Henley Regatta, 1994**

Lets have a national mobilisation to disrupt the Henley Regatta again in June 1994 eight years after class war was last there. Phil of London tells me it is one of the best things we ever did and will get plentiful media attention , as well as showing everyone we are still alive and kicking.

viii) **Essex ' uprising' Summer Speaking Tour**

'Sharon and Tracey's revenge!;
we have enclosed the details of this tour on a separate sheet. We need national support of the fed to make this a success.

Proposed.
Frank Kelly - Essex.

ix) **Mass rave party, 1994**

Fund-raising is a vital yet neglected area of CW. We need lots of dosh, whether we like it or not so lets plan and organise a mass 'rave' which will not only bring in wads of reddies but will also get alot of media attention.

Proposed.
Frank Kelly - Essex.

x) **National 'no-go zone' campaign**

Proposed.
Frank Kelly - Essex.

- ANY OTHER BUSINESS
- CLOSING SPEECH

T/SOR/49/1/5/8

CLASS WAR
A wee report

Kevin Learmonth
Edinburgh Class War

Introduction

This report is the result of my own dissatisfaction with the Class War Federation. The words are my own, but the ideas are the result of a lot of discussion with people both inside and outside of the Federation.

The events at the last Leeds conference were probably the kick up the arse that we needed. If we don't take a long hard look at our organisation, and make the necessary changes, the organisation which will remain will be fuck all use to anybody. CW membership will become the political equivilent to the emmotionally challenged Star Trekkie train spotter, our getto is full of them.

This report has some serious proposals. It is not a bluprint for sucess. Its reccomendations are for discussion and debat; but they are not whimsical thoughts to discuss then ignore. Its reccomendations are just that. We need to talk in concrete and specific terms. Wishfull thinging got us into this mess, positive action will get us out.

This isn't the first time such a report has been written. Jon did one last year, a good read, a lot of very good observations, and thats why I've reproduced it hera again for those of you who misses or ignored it first time arround.

Read, enjoy, thing and act on it.

1. The present situation

1.1. The Class War Federation has the following structure:

1.1.1. The supreme decision making body of the Fed. is the national conference. The conference is held twice a year, hosted by a local group who volunteers through the IB or at the preceding conference. All members are allowed to vote. Non members can be invited and are able to contribute to debates, but cannot vote.

1.1.2. At the national conference Office Bearers are elected. These comprise: National Secretary, Membership Secretary, National Co-ordination Secretary and Treasurer. All office bearers are recallable.

1.1.3. The paper delegate committee meets four times a year, and each group is entitled to send one delegate. All delegates are instantly recallable by their local group.

1.1.4. A National Delegate Committee (NDC) meets every two months. Each group is entitled to send one mandated delegate, office bearers can also attend, but are not allowed to vote. All delegates are recallable.

1.1.5. The Federation is a national organisation of local groups. The base of the organisation is the CW member, CW supporters play an important role in many areas. Members and supporters are active and organised through a local group.

1.1.6. There are about 12 local groups, 4 'industrial groups' (i.e.. colliers, health workers, bikers and posties. Some of these groups have up to 30 members, some, such as CW colliers appear to have NO CW members.

1.1.7. The average group membership appears to be about 4. Scary, init!

1.1.8. There also exists a Regional federation structure, where groups and individuals in a given geographical area can plan events and strategy specific to their local conditions. There are 12 of these regions.

1.1.9. At present there is no clear basis of what constitutes a group, the day to day running of groups is left up to local members and supporters.

1.2. Members

1.2.1. The Class War Federation has about 120 members. Following the September 1991 International conference membership rose rapidly from about 80 to 120. Since then it dropped back to 100, but has recently rose, possibly as a result of the 'Summer of Discontent' tour. These figures are approximate, but hide the fact that a number of people have left, and a similar number joined for the first time.

1.2.2. CW has a solid core membership of maybe around 50, people not prominent at National events, meetings etc. often play a vital role in local groups, and their importance should not be underestimated. In a similar vein the reverse could be said for their opposite numbers with the big gobs (this is a joke ya bastirds, laugh!).

1.2.3. Slightly more unusual is that people considered within the fed. to be absolutely central to the existence of CW also leave or take extended breaks from all CW activity — their place/role within the fed. is always filled in one way or another: the organisation doesn't collapse, new people come to the fore, and new talent and ideas are developed.

1.2.4. The procedure for becoming a member is something along the line of being sponsored/vetted by a local group or existing member. However some people seem to be able to join instantly.

1.2.5. Leeds CW have had some experience of solving the problem of who becomes a CW member within groups, and their experiences are a valuable reminder of how shaky things can become without any clear definition and procedure of membership.

1.2.6. At the moment membership fees are based on £1 a week, waged, £0.50 unwaged. The is sent to a variety of places (group treasurers, paper group etc.) but should (I think) go to the National Treasurer who is also the National Membership secretary.

2. SOME PROBLEMS

2.1. Conference

2.1.1. Not all groups attend the national conference. Since this is where policy, strategy and political decisions are made, non-attendance is currently 3—5 groups. This means either a disinterest in what happens at conference, a disinterest in the Federation as a national organisation, or a complete inability to get themselves together to even send a note explaining their absence.

2.2. Delegates

2.2.1. Recallable delegates are a laudable principle. Unfortunately, because of the size of CW, it can't work in practice. You can only recall a delegate, office bearer etc. if someone else is able to take the post. The present situation means that once you volunteer you are there till you decide to resign. The safety device of being instantly recallable cannot be enforced.

2.2.2. Delegates are a fine idea, but they need to be delegated with something. Vague statements or proposals like 'we should do something about the summit/poverty/royalty' are not acceptable and should not be allowed to stand.

2.2.3. Turnout at NDC's is low. Two delegates is not unheard of. Decisions are sometimes completely ignored by local groups, or reversed at the next NDC. Hardly consistent, inspiring or effective.

2.3. Membership

2.3.1. Membership is very erratic. We seem to have trouble in keeping members. We are in a situation where people join without having a clear idea of what CW is about, or CW not having a clear idea what there prospective members are like. As a political we do attract more than our fair share of nutters.

2.3.2. Membership is a necessary part of Class War. It helps to keep the organisation democratic, efficient and accountable.

2.4. Education

2.4.2. There is a wide range of skills and knowledge within the fed. but they tend to stay either dormant or very local.

2.4.3. Day schools sound good at conference, but of the six proposed at the Bristol conference, only one actually took place.

2.4.4. People seem very reluctant to both host or attend day schools, and we seem at a bit of a loss in terms of what we specifically want to discuss/learn or debate, so we come up with bland salves like 'women', 'national liberation', 'gay issues', the topics are sometimes as stereotyped as the response.

2.5. Groups

2.5.1. It isn't very clear what constitutes a group. If this continues we could have the dodgyest people imaginable forming CW groups, and then calling themselves CW members. The problem of unaccountable/unrepresenttive groups has already happened with some AFA groups.

2.6. Recruitment

2.6.1. Class War is spectacularly crap at `recruiting people. We know it, but seem unable to come up with any concrete solutions (ha ha that's a funny one..) to the problem.

3. PROPOSALS

3.1. Conference

3.1.1. That all groups not attending conference, or being unable to even send a report of their activities should immediately be considered null and void and be summarily suspended. The nearest group should take steps to recover any money due, mail etc. within one month of the conference.

3.1.2. This may seem hard, but there is no point in having groups which don't participate in the Fed. The idea of CW is that of a national organisation, those groups which refuse to participate at this level are kidding themselves and the rest of the Fed.

3.1.3. These suspended groups could still continue in the form of a Class War Supporters Groups, they couldn't attend NDC's, paper delegate meetings, receive the IB etc. Members of these groups should be similarly expelled, because it was their inaction and inactivity that was the cause of the groups demise in the first place. Expelled members would have the right of appeal to National Conference.

3.1.4. If Class War is unable to agree to these steps it must accept the reality that we return to a vague mish mash of unconnected groups, with no real strategy or direction.

3.1.5. That members only be allowed to vote is a vital and essential feature of national conferences.

3.1.6. Non-members should attend only through the express invite of a CW group. Otherwise we are back into the realms of people turning up on spec. to conferences, affecting decisions, then never having to carry out the consequences.

3.2. Delegates

3.2.1. All meetings that run on the delegate basis must have a full and precise agenda. This means concrete proposals. For example 'That Class War organise a National march against poverty in London on 25 December 1992.

3.2.2. That we march from Victoria Station to Bloomsbury, where CW will have set up a platform with speakers from local groups and homeless people

3.2.3. The aim of the day is to ....'

3.2.4. This at least gives groups a chance to discuss real proposals. It would be preferable if groups could distribute any amendments to the proposal between the IB and the NDC/paper delegate meeting.

3.2.5. Any new proposals on the day should not be accepted, nor should any vague proposals. Emergency proposals should be for genuine emergencies (a huge massacre, massive working class up-rising etc.). Emergency proposals should not be for ideas appearing on the spur of the moment.

3.3. NDC's

3.3.1. Because of the difficulty of delegates travelling to NDC's, it is proposed that these become four times a year. The NDC which would normally be on or around the date of the national Conference, shall be held four weeks before the national conference to set conference agenda and other details.

3.3.2. The dates of NDC's shall be set a year in advance, so everyone will know when they are, and other activities can be easier planned.

3.3.3. Every federation group shall have one vote at NDC's, paper delegate meetings etc. Officials and other members can take part only as observers, with no voting rights. Every federation group shall have the right to veto any final decision

The idea of the veto means that final decisions of CWF NDC's etc. are precisely that; decisions of the entire fed., and therefore should be carried out by the whole fed. The use of a veto should not be taken lightly by groups.

3.3.4. In addition to the veto, amendments, votes for and against, groups should also have the right to decline to take part in a particular initiative or strategy. If this is the case then any decision reached by the remaining groups cannot be the policy or event of the CWF.

This helps to minimise the embarrassment of National CW days of action which involve just a couple of groups.

3.3.5. The quorum for all NDC's shall be five voting groups.

This may seem a bit high, but with less frequent NDC's groups should be more able to send someone to shape the ongoing work, strategy and policies of the Federation. Anything less than this and we may as well abolish the NDC's and all pretence of democracy within the Federation. A quorum of five is less than 50% of eligible groups.

3.3.6. More use needs to be made of the IB. Proposals in the IB should be worded in such a way as to be acceptable as motions to an NDC, paper delegates meeting or National Conference.

3.4. Groups

3.4.1. A CW Federation group shall have full voting rights at NDC's and where ever else a group votes by mandated delegate.

3.4.2. A CW Fed. group shall have three or more members in good standing.

3.4.3. A CW local/industrial group shall have two or more members in good standing.

3.4.4. A CW group can define its own geographical area provided it doesn't overlap with another group.

The idea of Fed. groups and 'other' groups is purely internal. We felt that having a two member group was too small to be given one vote, and be able to effect the out come of a major decision of the Fed. We felt that for the time being the number of members for a fully fledged group should be 3.

Similarly, that two members was the minimum number of members needed for a functional CW group.

3.4.5. It could be possible to establish the idea of CW supporter groups for areas with no members, that way they could get the support and help of the Fed. whilst not needing to make the commitment to a national organisation.

3.5. Membership

3.5.1. Any member or group can propose polices, strategies or initiatives for the Class War Federation through paper delegates meetings, NDC's or national conferences.

3.5.2. Any member can organise together with other members to encourage a particular policy, interest or strategy within the fed.

3.5.3. Any motion once debated, discussed and passed at NDC's or national conference then becomes the official policy of the Class War Federation.

3.5.4. It is proposed that the new 'joining' procedure be that if someone applies, or is invited/encouraged to join, that they should at first be at least met by a current CW member. From there once the member is happy that they are fairly serious about joining the Fed. they can then become more involved in the activities of the local group.

3.5.5. New members shall be sponsored by a CW group - either local or industrially based.

3.5.6. Only after a satisfactory probationary period of three months activity with a CW group can they join as a full member.

3.5.7. Their details can then be forwarded to the Nat. Membership secretary.

Class War is a national organisation made up of local groups. We believe that organisation is needed to achieve working class freedom. We believe that the conscious organisation of working class people is necessary, and that isolated individuals acting in isolation cannot achieve this liberation.

As a revolutionary organisation, we believe we can best help this revolution come about by encouraging the ideas of working class self organisation, militancy resistance, community and solidarity. We can best do this through organisation.

If people think this is a worthwhile way of going about things, they can join our organisation.

We thing we have some reasonable ideas, so we also encourage people to join our organisation.

As long as we, and others outside CW, see ourselves as part of the working class, and as part of the wider struggle of the working class; we will be moving in a positive direction.

in short this is why we should have members who are attached to groups, not isolated individuals.

3.6. Membership dues

3.6.1. It is proposed that the new membership structure will work as follows:

3.6.2. An one-off joining fee of £5 will be paid to the local group treasurer, this will then be forwarded in full to the Nat. Membership secretary. Once the Nat. Membership secretary has confirmed this payment to the local group Secretary or treasurer, the person shall be considered a fully paid up CW member.

3.6.3. Once the initial joining fee has been paid, dues shall be £4 waged and £2 unwaged/low waged, payable once a month.

3.6.4. A member shall be considered in 'good standing' providing their dues are no more than two months in arrears.

3.6.5. Once the dues are repaid the member returns to full membership.

3.6.6. All monthly dues shall be collected by the treasurer of the nearest local group. The treasurer shall keep £1 or 50p from every members dues for the local groups funds.

3.6.7. The rest of the money should be sent to the national Treasurer, along with a breakdown of who has paid what.

The reasons for a new joining fee is that once it is paid, the new member is absolutely clear about having joined. It was too easy before to join for a fifty pence and then never show face again until they felt like being a CW member again.

It also makes it much easier for CW to have an accurate picture of its size and capabilities.

3.6.8. Special attention should be paid to the problems Leeds CW encountered with the issue of new members in 1991/92.

3.7. Recruitment

3.7.1. We should be more direct in our recruitment, let people know we would like them to join CW, let people know how they can join.

3.7.2. If we promote CW in terms of 'were all mad/ hard-as-fuck/ on the edge of society/ secretive etc. it is little wonder that people aren't rushing to join us.

3.7.3. We need to make CW more accessible – put across the idea we are real people with real lives, not a lunatic fringe or 24 hour hardened desperadoes.

3.7.4. We need to get beyond the PO box anonymity, false name to the press, masked up mob at the local gala mentality. We are not the masons we are open to everyone, we don't need to hide and cower like the fascists.

3.7.5. Some general suggestions:

3.7.6. Set up a new members course

3.7.7. If we don't have a real new members pack, lets create one

3.7.8. Visit people as soon as possible if they write to us

3.7.9. Reply quickly to any letters, queries etc.

3.7.10. Keep in regular touch with all local CW contacts; make sure they get the paper every time it comes out, leaflets, stickers etc.

3.7.11. Tactfully follow up all contacts; letters, word of mouth, merchandise orders, subs, etc.

3.7.12. Socials, events, outings are a good way of maintaing contact with people.

3.7.13. The education of ourselves and others could be a good way of showing people CW is a serious but friendly organisation.

We don't just want members though, we also want and need people who will listen to us, argue with us, and above all respect us even if they don't agree with everything we say or do.

3.8. Education

3.8.1. This could be our biggie, its also a pet subject...

3.8.2. CW should treat education more important than a side issue. We exist to educate, and be educated by the rest of the working class.

The party newspaper is a relatively new phenomenon in leftyville. Before the party rag was elevated to god like status, a major thrust of revolutionary groups was direct education: lectures, basic literacy, numeracy, languages, legal rights, ordinary run of the mill courses in everything under the sun, but taught or encouraged from a working class, revolutionary perspective. The IWW did it in North America, the communists, syndicalists, and anarchists did it across Europe.

Imagine a class, course or seminar without all the pretentious, limiting, controlling shite which accompanies the majority of education today.

This structure hasn't come about by accident, it has been put there.

3.8.3. I propose that CW look into setting up proper structured courses in subjects where we would like to know more, or where we can offer a specific skill or knowledge to a wider audience.

3.8.4. By structured I mean things like course notes, practical examples and a time structured. Basically a day where there has been a bit of thought about what will be taught, how it will be taught. How to make the subject relevant and useful to people.

3.8.5. Some of the classes could be the 'taught' variety, but others could be much more discussion, practical or experimentally based. What is important is that serious thought has gone into the content, structure, presentation and methodology of the class.

All this preparation takes time and effort, but once completed it will improve all the time. People who attend will be able to take copies of all the materials and use it in their local group, campaign, organisation etc. this means the course isn't really a one-off

3.8.6. These courses could be half day, all day, evening, day, a national event, or a local one.

3.8.7. The courses could be taught by CW, or by people sympathetic to the organisation.

3.8.8. National courses could be limited to two people per area, so encouraging contact between different parts of the country.

3.8.9. I propose that these classes be open to anyone, but that a maximum number of participants be set for most of the classes - especially important for the practical oriented days.

By making them open to anyone we can use them as a vehicle for recruitment, we can also use them to develop and encourage the ideas of working class identity, solidarity and militancy.

Limiting the numbers of people at the day schools helps with local accommodation, child care, venue and food arrangements.

3.9. Suggested topics include

3.10. Practical

3.10.1.	Public speaking:	Presentation, speaking outside, public meetings, radio ...
3.10.2.	Writing and research	How to write or research and article, researching a company ...
3.10.3.	Making use of computers	PC's, MACS, getting them for free, software, hardware, DTP ...
3.10.4.	Running a group	Bank accounts, PO boxes, accounts, publicity, meetings, membership ...
3.10.5.	The law	Your rights, courts, solicitors, demos, the fascist-scum-bag-running-dog pigs ...
3.10.6.	Media	Press, TV, radio, getting heard ...
3.10.7.	Self-defence	A very practical one this!
3.10.8.	Design and presentation	Printing, layout, video, music, banners, graffiti, graphic design on the cheep ...

3.11. Political

3.11.1.	New members	Maybe a couple of times a year is enough
3.11.2.	CW	Our history, our politics ...
3.11.3.	Unions	What are they, a brief history, recent legislation
3.11.4.	Sexism	Patriarchy, feminism, domestic violence, gender, power ...
3.11.5.	Racism Fascism	What are they, a brief history, recent legislation, combating them, race, class and gender ...
3.11.6.	History	The potential here is endless
3.11.7.	Topical events	Water meters/privatisation, oil spills, deforestation, strikes ...

3.11.8. These are only some possible suggestions. I am prepared to set up and run the computer courses.

3.11.9. If the dates, venue, facilitator can be established a couple of months in advance, then local groups, the paper etc. can then set about recruiting people to the classes.

3.11.10. By having a booking system we will avoid most of the problem of day schools with 2 people turning up, and only 'cos they organised it in the first place.

What

3.11.11. The old day school might still has a place and role within this. **Conferences** may be a more accurate description of these kind of events. The (potentially) larger numbers present at these conferences are useful if there is to be a lot of varied and informed discussion and debate.

DIVIDING THE WORKING CLASS.

IN america the arse end of the class are Langley black hispanic non whites.

Political system - 2 party system both identical

5th Friday

~~In Chiara~~
In Chyira Hotel

Paper to print
12 February

Sterie and Bernie
24 King Seat Ave.
Grangemouth

Analysis of ~~#~~ Present day UK - Scotland.

the Americanisation of UK - Scot.
The destruction of health service the subdividing of the working class - into (Underclass ~~#~~ unemployed shit waged single parents) (upper workingclass - skilled workers - decent wage encouraged to by own home to get out of shun - away from poverty house breaking etc.

- prison systems - heading in the direction of Amercan Models - privatised work camps ~~serving~~ supplying a source of cheap forced labour - doing away with the Idea of rehabilitation or - crime prevention - as a steady flow of prisoners are needed to maintain the labour force.